

STORY OF THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE

BY
VIRGIL A. LEWIS, M.A.



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JEAN BAPTISTE LEMOINE DE BIENVILLE.

"The Father of the Louisiana Purchase."

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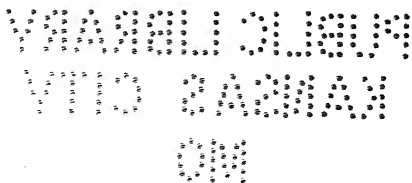
Louisiana Purchase.

BY

VIRGIL A. LEWIS, M. A.,

*Ex-State Superintendent of Free Schools of West Virginia;
Member Trans-Allegheny Historical Society; Member
American Historical Association; Author of
a General "History of West Virginia," "His-
tory and Government of West Virginia," etc.*

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THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE

The present is eminently a proper time in which to prepare the "Story of the Louisiana Purchase," for a century ago that region was largely inhabited by wild beasts and savage men. The issuance of this little volume falls fittingly into the one hundredth anniversary of the transfer of that vast domain to the United States; little apology should, therefore, be made for the publication of a work of its kind at this time. Whatever may be the defects in its composition and arrangement, the subject must be one of much interest, and, therefore, a justification for the appearance of the work. It is a theme which will grow in interest in the future, and thus will be added an increasing charm to the story.

It contains a succinct account of the principal events in the annals of the region known to American history for a hundred years as the Louisiana Purchase, and it is fitting that these should come vividly to the minds of the people of the United States in this its centennial year. This purchase more than doubled the area of our country at that time, and made possible the later extension of our boundaries to the Pacific Coast.

It may be said that the Louisiana Purchase has a literature of its own; that is true, and this narrative has been written from a great mass of matter pertaining to that region, now easy of access to all students, but not at all available to general readers. Much of the material on which this volume is based is to be found in the publica-

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THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

tions of the American Government. Among these are the "Annals of Congress," containing the debates and proceedings of the Congress of the United States; Poore's "Federal and State Constitutions and Colonial Charters;" Waite's "American State Papers and Documents;" the "Diplomatic Correspondence of the Office of the Secretary of State," from 1800 to 1803, inclusive; the "Treaties and Conventions between the United States and other Powers since July 4, 1776;" together with the reports and journals of explorers and travelers, such as those of Lewis and Clark, Pike, Dunbar, Long, and others.

In addition to the foregoing, the works of many authors who have had access to original sources of information, have been carefully examined and data compiled therefrom. Of such are Du Pratz, La Harpe, Shea, Margry, Parkman, Monette, Marbois, Flint, Gayarre, Martin, Bonner, Windsor and Coues, with the authors of the histories of States in and adjoining the Louisiana Purchase, and others far too numerous to be cited here.

It is, therefore, believed that in the following pages there will be found the internal evidence of that research so necessary to make a volume of unimpeachable history, however humble it may be. Its preparation, instead of being a task, has been a labor of love, for the theme—that of history—is one in which the author finds constant pleasure. Cordially he sends the "Story of the Louisiana Purchase" to a generous public, whose approval he hopes to win.

V. A. L.

THE PUBLISHER'S PREFACE.

On the 4th of May, 1903, the author visited the Administration Building of the World's Fair, at St. Louis, for the purpose of submitting his manuscript of the "Story of the Louisiana Purchase" for examination. He was directed by Hon. Walter B. Stevens, the Secretary of the World's Fair Company, to place it in the hands of Colonel Samuel Williams, of the Press and Publicity Department, and this was done, that gentleman kindly promising to give it a most careful reading. This he did, and on the 9th of May ensuing, Mr. Stevens wrote the author communicating the report of Col. Williams and said:

ST. LOUIS, U. S. A., May 9, 1903.

DEAR SIR—I have submitted to Mr. Samuel Williams of the Press and Publicity Department, perhaps the best informed man in the organization of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company upon the history of the Louisiana Purchase, your "Story of the Louisiana Purchase," and have asked from him an expression of opinion upon the manuscript. I think there can be no objection to giving the opinion of Mr. Williams upon your work.

Respectfully,

WALTER B. STEVENS, *Secretary.*

MR. VIRGIL A. LEWIS.

The report of Mr. Williams as thus submitted to the author by Mr. Stevens, was as follows:

FOR SECRETARY W. B. STEVENS:

(Report on the "Story of the Louisiana Purchase.")

MR. SECRETARY—I have read the manuscript of Prof. Lewis' "Story of the Louisiana Purchase," and have found it a succinct and unpretentious but a very full and clear statement of the material and interesting facts of Louisiana Colonial history, and of the Purchase Treaty, with accounts also of the Territorial history of Louisiana, Arkansas and Missouri after 1803; the Burr Conspiracy and the New Madrid earthquake, *all gleaned from fountain head and indisputed sources.*

Respectfully,

(Signed) SAMUEL WILLIAMS.

Such is the verdict of the highest authority as to the accuracy and merit of this little volume.

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LAST FRENCH POSSESSION..	" Nov. 30, 1803, " Dec. 20, 1803.		
THE AMERICAN OCCUPATION	" Dec. 20, 1803, " present time.		

THE FRENCH GOVERNORS OF LOUISIANA.

ANTOINE LEMOINE DE SAU-
VOLLE From Feb. 10, 1699, to Aug. 22, 1701.

JEAN BAPTISTE LEMOINE DE
BIENVILLE “ Aug. 22, 1701, “ May 17, 1713.

GOVERNORS UNDER CROZET'S CHARTER.

LAMOTHE DE CADILLAC. From May 17, 1713, to Mar. 9, 1717.

M. DE L'EPINAY. “ Mar. 9, 1717, “ Mar. 9, 1718.

GOVERNORS UNDER THE WEST INDIES COMPANY.

JEAN BAPTISTE LEMOINE DE
BIENVILLE From Mar. 9, 1718, to Jan. 16, 1724.

DUGUE DE BOISBRIANT, *ad*
interim “ Jan. 16, 1724, “ Aug. 9, 1726.

M. PERRIER “ Aug. 9, 1726, “ Jan. 1, 1733.

GOVERNORS UNDER THE ROYAL GOVERNMENT.

JEAN BAPTISTE LEMOINE DE BIENVILLE	From Jan. 1, 1733, to May 10, 1743.
PIERRE FRANCOIS MARQUIS DE VAUDREUIL	" May 10, 1743, " Feb. 9, 1753.
LOUIS BILLOUART DE KER- LEREC	" Feb. 9, 1753, " June 29, 1763.
D'ABBADIE	" June 29, 1763, " Feb. 4, 1765.
M. AUBRY	" Feb. 4, 1765, " Aug. 18, 1769.

THE SPANISH GOVERNORS AND CAPTAINS-GENERAL
OF THE PROVINCE OF LOUISIANA.

(Resident at New Orleans.)

DON JUAN DE ULLOA.....	From Mar. 5, 1766, to Oct. 31, 1768.
COUNT ALEXANDER O'REILLY	" Aug. 18, 1769, ", 1770.
DON ANTONIO MARIA BU- CARELY, <i>ad interim</i>	", 1770, " Aug. 17, 1772.
DON LUIS DE UNZAGA.....	" Aug. 17, 1772, " Jan. 1, 1777.
DON BERNARDO GALVEZ.....	" Jan. 1, 1777, ", 1785.
DON ESTEVAN MIRO.....	", 1785, " Dec. 30, 1791.
DON FRANCISCO LUIS HEC- TOR, MARQUIS DE CARON- DELET	" Dec. 30, 1791, " July 26, 1797.
DON MANUEL GAYOSO DE LEMONS	" July 26, 1797, ", 1799.
MARQUIS DE CASA CALVO, <i>ad interim</i>	", 1799, ", 1801.
DON JUAN MANUEL SALCEDO	" June .., 1801, " Nov. 30, 1803.

SPANISH LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS OF UPPER
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(Resident at St. Louis.)

DON PEDRO PIERNAS.....	From Nov. 29, 1770. to	1775.
FRANCISCO CRUZAT.....	", 1775, "	1778.
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DON MANUEL PEREZ.....	", 1788. "	1793.
ZENON TRUDEAU.....	", 1793, "	1798.
CARLOS DELASSUS	", 1798, " Mar. 9, 1804.	

THE AMERICAN GOVERNOR OF THE LOUISIANA
PURCHASE.

WILLIAM CHARLES COLE

CLAIBORNEFrom Dec. 20, 1803, to Oct. 1, 1804.

THE STORY OF THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

CHAPTER I.

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

What is known in American history as the Louisiana Purchase is a region of vast extent. Its boundaries were long unknown. By the terms of the treaty of Paris, in 1763, the middle of the Mississippi was made the dividing line between the British and Spanish possessions down to where the thirty-first degree of north latitude crosses the river—that is, to the northern boundary of what was then West Florida. This was continued as the dividing line between the United States and the Spanish possessions west of the Mississippi by the treaty of 1783, and confirmed by that of San Lorenzo between Spain and the United States in 1795.

When Spain retroceded Louisiana to France, the third article of the treaty of St. Ildefonso, concluded October 1, 1800, declared that Spain ceded Louisiana to France,

“with the same extent it now has in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it.” Nor were bounds more definitely expressed in the treaty concluded between France and the United States, April 30, 1803. It was then declared that “the French Republic cedes to the United States the Province of Louisiana, with the same extent as it had when France possessed it before and when in the hands of Spain.” During the negotiation of this treaty, Robert R. Livingston, one of the American ministers spoke of the indefinite boundaries of the Province, and Napoleon remarked that “if an obscurity did not already exist, it would, perhaps, be good policy to put one there.”

Indeed, after the title to the Louisiana Purchase had vested in the United States, the authorities knew almost nothing of its boundaries. It was spoken of in Congress in 1803, as “This new immense, unbounded world.” On the 8th of March, 1804, a resolution of that body declared that “It is believed, besides the tracts on the east side of the Mississippi, to include all the country which lies to the westward between that river and the mountains that stretch from the North to the South, and divide the waters running into the Atlantic from those which empty into the Pacific Ocean; and beyond that chain between the territories of Great Britain on the one side, and of Spain on

the other side to the South Sea"—the Pacific Ocean. Thus early were the States of Idaho, Oregon and Washington claimed by Congress as a part of the Louisiana Purchase.

Some of the members of Congress who were opposed to the ratification of the treaty attacked it because of the vagueness of boundary. John Randolph admitted all that these opponents claimed, and replied that this subject of boundary was one to be discussed and settled with Spain in after years. In this he was correct, for the western boundary of the Louisiana Purchase was not defined until done by the terms of the treaty between the United States and Spain, concluded February 22, 1819, when the boundary between the two nations, on the west side of the Mississippi, was defined as follows:

"Beginning on the Gulf of Mexico, at the mouth of the River Sabine, in the sea, and continuing north along the western bank of that river to the 32d degree of latitude; thence by a line due north to the degree of latitude where it strikes the Rio Roxo of Nachitoches, or Red River; thence following the course of the Rio Roxo westward to the degree of longitude 100 west from London, and 23 west from Washington; thence crossing the said Red River, and running thence by a line due north to the River Arkansas; thence following the course of the southern

bank of the Arkansas to its source; thence a line due north to the 42d parallel north; and thence by that parallel of latitude to the South Sea." Thus by this treaty the United States ceded and renounced all claim to territory west and south of this line; and Spain forever yielded all claim and rights to territory east and north of it. Thus was definitely fixed the western boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, sixteen years after its cession by France.

We have said that the Louisiana Purchase is a region of vast extent, and such it is. From it have been formed all of the States of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and seven-eighths of Kansas, one-third of Colorado, two-thirds of Minnesota, two-thirds of Wyoming, all of the Indian Territory, and five-sixths of Oklahoma. If a line be drawn from the Falls of St. Anthony to the source of the Missouri, it will measure one thousand miles; drawn from the same point to Pike's Peak, its length will be eight hundred miles; one extended from the Lake of the Woods to the mouth of the Mississippi will measure thirteen hundred miles, or, if the meanderings of that river be followed, twenty-five hundred miles.

The total area of the Louisiana Purchase is eight hundred and eighty-four thousand, five hundred and forty-

square miles—in round numbers, about nine hundred thousand.* Thus it is seen that it is one-eighth of the whole of North America; nearly a third of the whole continental area of the United States; nearly three times as large as the Thirteen Original States of the American Union; more than three times as large as Texas; more than thirteen times as large as all New England; twenty-one times as large as Virginia; and one hundred and eight times as large as Massachusetts. It is nearly three-fourths as large as China; nearly one-fourth as large as Europe; and one-fifth larger than Mexico. When

*A hundred years ago it was asserted that the Louisiana Purchase included all of the region lying between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains, and in addition thereto, the present states of Idaho, Washington and Oregon. Congress, in 1804, expressed its belief in this; Lewis and Clark exploring it in 1804-5-6 did not stop at the Rocky Mountains but went on to the Pacific Ocean, and, by the United States census of 1810, its area was estimated at 1,115,335 square miles, which evidently included the three states named. Many maps have been issued—some of them by the American Government—showing its western boundary north of California to be the Pacific Ocean; whilst others—some of them published under the authority of the Government—have fixed its limits in that direction at the Rocky Mountains. But ever since 1819 the line fixed by the treaty with Spain in that year has been recognized as the boundary from the mouth of the Sabine River northward to the forty-second degree of latitude, while that further to the northward was long in doubt. In more recent years, however, the crest of the main range of the Rocky Mountains, extending from the forty-second degree northwesterly and crossing the northern boundary of Montana about ninety miles east of its northwest corner, has been and is now regarded as the northwestern limit of the Louisiana Purchase. This excludes the three states named above and the Purchase may be bounded thus: On the east by the Mississippi and a line drawn from its source to the Lake of the Woods; on the north by British America; on the west by the line fixed by the treaty with Spain in 1819 and the Rocky Mountains; on the south and southwest by Texas and the Gulf of Mexico. Within these bounds is an area of about 900,000 square miles, as stated in the text.

its population has become as dense as that of Massachusetts, it will contain more than three hundred millions of people within its borders.

Throughout this wide expanse there once dwelt a people now extinct, and who have left but few traces of their existence. These consist of mounds which dot the landscape, and implements, weapons, and ornaments, scattered over the surface, or dug from the sands and gravel beds of the rivers. However interesting they may be to the antiquarian and the student of ethnography, they have no place in history, for neither in blood, manners, speech, nor laws, have these people left a mark in all the land in which they lived. Over this same region in all its parts, white men found Indian nations roaming everywhere, but claiming no property in land, and existing in all stages of savage and barbarian life, from that of the Digger Indians of the Columbia River, to that of the Sun Worshippers on the banks of the Mississippi. They, too, have but slight connection with our subject, which deals rather with the discovery, exploration, and settlement of the region by white men, and with the changes of sovereignty of different nations over it. These with an account of the planting of civilization, and the founding of States within its borders furnish the material for *The Story of the Louisiana Purchase*.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY SPANIARDS IN THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

In the year 1492, Columbus, the great Genoese navigator, made known to Europe the existence of a New World, and thus prepared the way for two centuries of the most active prosecution of voyage and adventure in the whole history of the human race. Immediately after the announcement of the discovery, all the nations from the Mediterranean to Scandinavia engaged in trans-Atlantic exploration. North America was partitioned among three of them—Spain, England and France. The former occupied the southern part; England, the middle portion; while France took possession of the region lying along the St. Lawrence, and around the Great Lakes.

Spain hastened to profit by the finding of a New World, and encouraged her navigators and merchants to engage in exploring and colonizing her vast possessions beyond the Atlantic. This they did. Ponce de Leon sought for gold and a fountain of perpetual youth on the shorelands of Florida. Nunz de Balboa, from an eminence on the Isthmus of Darien, discovered the Pacific Ocean. Hernando Cortez landed on the coast of Tobasco

in 1519, and in three years conquered the Mexican Empire, reduced its people to vassalage, and changed the name of the country to that of New Spain. Francisco Pizarro built a ship on the west side of Darien, and in 1524 despoiled the Empire of Peru.

In 1527, Pamphilo de Narvaez sailed from Spain with three hundred men and fifty horses, for the purpose of exploring the region between Florida and the Rio Grande. His vessels, three in number, arrived at Apalachee Bay the next year, where the army was landed. One of the vessels returned to Cuba for supplies, and the others, having unloaded their cargoes, sailed away to the westward and were never afterward heard of. Then the men began the march to the Rio Grande. There was great suffering; the horses were killed and eaten; then the spurs and stirrups were forged into nails; five small boats were constructed on which the troops embarked; two of these were lost at the mouth of the Mississippi, and the others dashed to pieces on the coast of Texas, where all on board perished, except Cabeza de Vaca, and four companions, one of whom was Estevan—Stephen—a negro, the first of his race that ever trod the soil of the southwestern part of the United States.

These survivors journeyed over Texas, ascended the Rio Grande to its source, and thence traversed the vast

extent of country to the westward, and, in 1536, after years of wandering and untold suffering, arrived at Sinaloa, on the Gulf of California. From here they proceeded to the City of Mexico, where they informed Mendoza, the Governor-General of New Spain, that in their wanderings they had learned of the existence of rich countries, in which were "populous towns and very large houses," away to the northward. Mendoza had himself heard of the "Seven Cities of Cybola," said to be far away in that direction, and Francisco de Coronado, the Captain-General of New Galicia, the northwestern province of New Spain, was called to the city and given command of an army of three hundred Spaniards and eight hundred natives, with which to go in search of these cities.

This force assembled at Compostella, near the Pacific coast of Mexico, early in 1539, and marched to Culiacan. Hernando Alarcón transported the supplies in two ships to the head of the gulf of California. The army left Culiacan on the 7th of March, and on the 26th of August arrived at the mouth of the Colorado River. Here Coronado failed to find Alarcon, who had gone a hundred miles up that stream, and, without his supplies, he began his march to the eastward across Arizona. The spring of 1541 found the army encamped near the source of the Rio Grande, and Coronado had learned that the fabled cities

of Cibola were but the communal villages of stone and mud inhabited by the Zuni Indians of Arizona and New Mexico—the Pueblas of a later day. But he was told that Quiaviri, an opulent city, stood on a great plain away to the northeast, and he began his march in that direction in search of it. Onward the army proceeded over mountains and across prairies of vast extent into the Louisiana Purchase, where the far-famed city proved to be but a large Indian town near the site of the present city of Wichita, in Kansas. “Here,” says Coronado, “the army marched across mighty plains and sandy heaths, smooth and wearisome, and bare of wood. All that way the plains are as full of crooked-backed oxen as the mountain Serena, in Spain, is of sheep.” Such is the first description of the prairies of the Louisiana Purchase. None can identify the line of march of Coronado. It is believed that he visited eastern Colorado, and he probably reached the Missouri River, between the sites of the present Kansas City and Council Bluffs. These first European adventurers in the Louisiana Purchase returned to New Spain, and thus ended in failure one of the most important enterprises ever undertaken in the unexplored solitudes of inland America.

By a singular coincidence, another Spanish army was wandering over the wilds of the southern part of the con-

continent, and penetrated the Louisiana Purchase at the same time that Coronado was on the plains of Kansas. On the 31st day of May, 1539, the fleet of eleven ships of Hernando de Soto cast anchor in the Bay of Santo Espiritu, on the west coast of Florida. That day there were landed eight hundred infantry, and three hundred and fifty cavalry. The former were composed of armed knights; the latter of the best lancers of Spain. The commander had been a captain in the army of Pizarro in his conquest of Peru. Many men had sold their estates to engage in an enterprise which, in its results, promised to eclipse the conquest of Mexico. Among them were many of the first captains of Spain, the foremost of whom was Muscoso de Alvarado, who ranked next to De Soto himself. To the historian Garcillasco, one of the most scholarly men of his time, we are indebted for the account of the expedition.

Now began the march into the wilderness, which has no parallel in the history of adventure in America. Beneath the dark shades of the southern forest the splendid pageant moved on, cheered by martial music and Castilian songs. These steel-clad warriors pressed their way through the marshes of the lowlands of Florida, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. Winter and summer were one to them. On the banks of the Alabama, a short distance below Selma, they fought the battle of Mavilla with the

Chickasaw Indians, in which the latter were defeated with great slaughter, but not until the Spaniards had eighteen men killed and one hundred and forty wounded. The winter of 1540 was spent in a deserted village of the Chickasaw Indians in northern Mississippi, and early in April the march was resumed and continued until the first day of May, 1541, when the adventurers halted on the banks of the Mississippi River. The "Father of Waters" lay spread out before them, and they were the first Europeans that ever looked upon it. De Soto and his companions stood for a time entranced, and then gazing across the mighty river, they beheld the shoreland of the Louisiana Purchase, which the imagination now painted as a land where was to be found vast treasures of gold and silver and precious stones, all ready to be gathered by the hands of the first adventurers who should reach its borders and penetrate its wild retreats. Barges were speedily constructed, and the army crossed to the western bank, a landing being effected not far from where Helena, Arkansas, now stands.

The exact route of De Soto's army, like that of Coronado's west of the Mississippi—then a primeval solitude—cannot be determined with any degree of certainty; but if it could be traced in detail it would not serve any good purpose to follow it through the then trackless region,



DE SOTO'S ARMY ON THE BANKS OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

across plains and over mountains, through tangled brake and brier. For more than a year the army moved aimlessly about. It was probably at the mouth of the Arkansas; then up the Mississippi as far as New Madrid; then westward over the Ozark mountains to the plain beyond, where it spent the winter of 1541, in western Missouri. Then it wandered into western Arkansas among the Boston mountains, and thence to the valleys of the White, the Arkansas, and the Red Rivers, down the last of which it followed to its confluence with the Mississippi, now in the State of Louisiana. Here, on the first day of May, De Soto died of fever caused by exposure and fatigue. His dying words were: "Spain expects a richer harvest of glory and more ample domains for her children." True it is that—

"The path of glory leads but to the grave."

His body was placed in an oaken trunk, and at midnight his companions rowed it out upon the stream and sunk it beneath the turbid waters of the mighty river which he himself had discovered.

The survivors, now numbering but little more than three hundred, chose Alvarado as their leader, and began the journey across Texas to Mexico. But when they reached the Rio Grande, they beheld the towering mountains beyond, and returned to the mouth of the Red River.

There they constructed several small boats, and descending the Mississippi, followed by a thousand hostile warriors in canoes, reached its mouth on the 18th of June, 1543. From here they coasted around the gulf to the westward, and fifty days thereafter reached the mouth of the Little Panuco River in Mexico, whence they made their way to the capital of that country, and from there some returned to Spain.

From the day that the little brigantines of the survivors of De Soto's army left the mouth of the Mississippi River, no other vessels save the Indian canoes plowed its waters again for more than a hundred and thirty years. Even the very existence of the river was forgotten save in Spanish chronicle and vague tradition. The curtain of oblivion was, as it were, again stretched from sky to sea, and the great Mississippi Valley lay hidden in its shadows.

CHAPTER III.

EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT OF NEW FRANCE—FIRST
ATTEMPT TO COLONIZE THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

It has been stated that in the occupation and settlement of North America, France took possession of the region along the St. Lawrence and around the Great Lakes. In the year 1624, John De Verazzano, sailing under the flag of that country, crossed the Atlantic, reached Cape Fear, North Carolina; sailed northward along the coast of Newfoundland, claimed the country north of the English possessions for his king, bestowed upon it the name of Francesca, and then returned to France, reaching Dieppe in July of the following year.

Ten years thereafter, James Cartier, having a commission from Francis I., King of France, sailed for America; discovered the Strait of Belle Isle; entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence; and then proceeded up the river of that name as far as Hochelaga, now Montreal, where he took formal possession of the country in the name of his king, calling it New France. Here he spent the winter, and in the spring of 1536, began the homeward voyage. Francis la Roche and others continued to visit these northern seas,

and in 1579, there were one hundred and fifty French vessels engaged in the Newfoundland fisheries.

In 1603, Henry IV., the French King, made Samuel Champlain Lieutenant-General of New France, and the next year, De Monts founded Port Royal in Acadia, now Nova Scotia. Henceforth there was great activity in the French colony. Champlain explored the islands and coast north of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and then, sailing up the river of that name, founded Quebec in 1608. Here he joined the Huron Indians in a war against the Five Nations, and, while thus engaged, discovered the lake which bears his name. In 1613, a French settlement was made at St. Xavier, on Mount Desert Island, and the next year Le Caron went from Quebec and penetrated the country of the Mohawks southwest of Lake Ontario. In 1620, Champlain laid the foundation of Fort St. Louis, at Quebec, a fortification to be known in later years as the Gibraltar of America.

The boundless region to the west of the St. Lawrence lay all unexplored, but, in 1659, two fur traders spent the winter on the shores of Lake Superior, and the next spring, arrived at Quebec with sixty canoes laden with furs, and rowed by three hundred Algonquin warriors. These told the story of Indian population in that distant country, and René Mesnard, an aged missionary, was

selected to establish a mission thereon as a place of assembly for the Indians of the surrounding nations. On the 15th of October, 1661, he reached the straits of Keweenaw Bay, in northern Michigan, where he called his station St. Theresa. There he remained nearly a year, and then departed for the Apostle's Islands, but while on his journey, was lost on Keweenaw peninsula, and never seen again. He was followed in the mission work of the wilderness by Claude Allouez, who embarked at Quebec in 1665, and on the first of October, arrived at La Pointe, the great village of the Chippewas, on the Bay of Chegoi-mei-gon, in Michigan. Here he met deputations of ten or twelve of the neighboring nations assembled in council to concert means against their common enemy, the Sioux. Allouez secured an audience, and in the name of his sovereign, Louis XIV., offered them peace and alliance with France. This was joyfully received, and the mission station of the Holy Spirit was there founded. Here Allouez remained two years, and then returned to Quebec. His successor was James Marquette, a name ever to be prominent in the history of the Mississippi Valley.

Marquette was joined by Claude Dablon, another missionary, and in 1668, they established the first permanent settlement in Michigan at the Falls of St. Mary—Sault

Ste. Marie. An Indian congress was held here, and nearly all of the nations of the lake region were placed under the protection of Louis XIV. Marquette gathered the remnant at Point St. Ignace, north of Mackinaw Strait, where a post was long maintained as the key to the West. Thus was the whole lake region made known to France, and M. Talon, the Viceroy of New France, sent Nicholas Perrot, in 1671, with a military force to propose a congress of Indians at Sault Ste. Marie the following spring. Here, at the appointed time, many chiefs and warriors assembled, and Sieur St. Luson, the representative of France, was charged to take possession of all the country to the westward, and to receive the Indians under the protection of the French king. Thus was an alliance formed between the barbarous nations of the American wilderness on the one side, and France on the other, which continued for nearly a hundred years. The same year, Dablon and Allouez explored the country west of Lake Michigan, that is, what is now western Michigan and northern Illinois.

As early as 1666, Indians from the far west visited Quebec, and told the story of a mighty river beyond the Great Lakes. This aroused an interest in that of which the very existence had long been but a vague tradition. Some thought that, if there be such a river, it flowed

away into the north Pacific Ocean, then called the "South Sea," and that it would open trade with China; others believed that it found its way into the Gulf of California, and would thus form a means of communication with New Spain; and still others insisted that it poured its mighty flood into the Gulf of Mexico, and that its exploration would give to France the possession of the whole interior of the continent of North America. The authorities at Quebec determined to know the whole truth. Count Frontenac arrived as Governor of New France, in 1672, and M. Talon, the late Intendant, recommended to him Louis Joliet, a native of Canada, and a resident of Quebec, as a suitable person to entrust with the exploration, and he was selected for the enterprise. James Marquette, the missionary, had come to New France in 1666, since which time he had been engaged in mission work among the Indians, and was at this time pastor of the church of St. Ignace at Mackinaw Strait, where, on the 8th of December, 1672, Joliet arrived, having orders to take Marquette with him as a companion on his expedition. At this place the remainder of the winter was spent, and on the 17th of May ensuing, the two set out, with their attendants, on the voyage to Green Bay. From its shore they ascended the Fox River until, on the 10th of June, they reached its source. Then, lift-

ing their light canoes on their shoulders, they carried them across the narrow portage which separates the waters of the Fox River from the Wisconsin. "From here the guides returned," writes Marquette, "leaving us alone in this unknown land." Embarking on the broad Wisconsin, with the wide bosom of its blue waters spread out before them, they rowed down the stream until, on the 17th day of June, 1673, they "entered happily on the great river with a joy that could not be expressed." Europeans had found the Mississippi again. A hundred and thirty years had come and gone since white men had beheld it, and they were the first Frenchmen who ever saw it. Now they began its descent, and the dipping of their oars kept time with the measured cadence of their songs. They went on shore near the site of the present city of Davenport, where they were the first white men in Iowa, and the first Frenchmen ever within the Louisiana Purchase. On the 25th of June, when further down the river, they saw footprints of men on the western shore. Landing, they followed these for six miles into the interior, where they came to an Indian town, and were hospitably entertained. Embarking again, they continued their journey until they reached the Indian town of Quapaw, at the mouth of the Arkansas River. Here they learned, beyond a doubt, that the Mississippi flows into

the Gulf of Mexico. On the 17th of July they began the return voyage by way of the Illinois River and Lake Michigan to Mackinaw, where both remained during the winter. Then Marquette resumed his missionary labors, and, early in the spring of 1674, Joliet proceeded to Quebec, where his report of the exploration and discovery of the Mississippi produced great joy, and the bells of the cathedral were rung from morning till night in celebration of the event. Now the bounds of New France might be extended to the Gulf of Mexico.

The greatest explorer of the Mississippi Valley was now in New France, but, as yet, unknown. This was Robert Cavalier de la Salle, who came from France to Quebec in 1666, when but twenty-three years of age. He settled at La Chine, near Montreal, and from here, in 1669, set out on a tour of western exploration to find the Ohio River, the existence of which he had learned from the missionary Dollier de Casson. He traveled with two missionaries bound for the western lakes until he came to Presque Isle on the southern shore of Lake Erie, where, leaving them, he, with several companions, crossed the highlands to the Allegheny River, and then descended the Ohio as far as the falls—now Louisville, Kentucky. He returned to Quebec, and the next year made a tour of the Great Lakes, and visited the site of the present city

of Chicago. Patronized by the Governor, he built Fort Frontenac, where Kingston, Ontario, now stands, and was there in command until 1677. He had proposed to explore the Mississippi to its mouth, and Frontenac sent him to France, where he explained to Colbert, the Minister of Marine, the boundless resources of the Mississippi Valley, and the advantages that France would derive from its exploration and settlement. This he asked permission to undertake. Not only did he obtain that concession, but, with other privileges, he was granted a monopoly of the fur trade for a series of years. A ship laden with supplies for his use sailed from Rochelle, June 14, 1678, and cast anchor at Quebec, on the 15th of the ensuing September. La Salle brought with him as his lieutenant the Cavalier de Tonti, whose name was to be coupled, henceforth, with that of his own in the dramas and tragedies of the wilderness. The expedition was fitted out at Fort Frontenac, passed over Lake Ontario, ascended the Niagara above the Great Falls, and at Tonawanda creek, on the upper course of that river, built the "Griffin," a vessel of forty tons, so named from the coat-of-arms of Count Frontenac. She was launched and began the voyage with forty men on board, among them Tonti and Louis Hennepin. This was the first vessel built by white men that ever plowed the blue waters of

the Great Lakes. Over Lake Erie, through Detroit Strait, across Lake St. Clair, to which La Salle gave its name, and on across Lake Huron and Lake Michigan, the voyage was continued to Green Bay. Here the "Griffin" was freighted with the choicest furs, and sent back to Quebec. From that day to this, none know her fate, for it is still a secret of these inland seas.

La Salle remained at Green Bay some time, awaiting the return of his vessel that was never to come. Then he proceeded to the southern end of Lake Michigan, where, on the bank of the St. Joseph's River, he built Fort Miami and passing over to the Illinois River, erected on its shore, a short distance below where Peoria now stands, a small fortification which he called Fort Creve Cœur. That part of the Mississippi above the mouth of the Wisconsin was, as yet, unexplored, and La Salle now sent Louis Hennepin to find the source of that river. With two men, one of whom was M. Du Gay, he proceeded down the Illinois in a canoe, and reached its mouth on the 29th of February, 1680. From here the voyage up the Mississippi was begun and continued to the Falls of St. Anthony, so called by Hennepin, and when a short distance beyond, on the 11th of April, they were taken prisoners by the Sioux Indians, who held them in captivity for eight months. Then, through the intercessions of a

Frenchman—du Lhut—they were liberated, and returned by way of the Wisconsin and Fox Rivers to Mackinaw. There Hennepin spent the winter, and then proceeded to Quebec, where he arrived April 6, 1682.

Meanwhile, La Salle left Tonti in command of Fort Creve Cœur and visited Quebec, where he speedily adjusted some business matters, and then hastened back to the Illinois. There he found the fort demolished—the work of the Five Nations—and the garrison gone, he knew not where. Again, he set out for Quebec, and on reaching Mackinaw, was overjoyed at meeting with the faithful Tonti, who told him the story of wreck and ruin on the Illinois. The two proceeded to Quebec.

The Mississippi had now been traversed from the Falls of St. Anthony to the mouth of the Arkansas, and La Salle resolved to explore its lower course to the Gulf of Mexico. Friends aided him to fit out the expedition for that purpose. With Tonti, Zenobe Membré, thirty Frenchmen and a band of faithful Indians, he left Quebec late in the summer of 1681, and, on the 3d of November, all were at Fort Miami. From here, Tonti and others passed around the southern end of Lake Michigan to the mouth of the Chicago River, and crossed the portage to the Illinois, while La Salle, with the remainder of the party proceeded by way of the Kankakee River, and all

were united at Fort Creve Cœur, on the 4th of January, 1682. From here the voyage began, and, on the 6th of February, the canoes from the mouth of the Illinois, shot out into the floating ice of the Mississippi, then known at Quebec as the Colbert River. The mouth of the Missouri was passed, and on the Chickasaw Bluffs, where Memphis now stands, a little stockade was erected and named Fort Prudhomme, for a man who was here lost in the forest, but afterwards returned. A stop was made at the mouth of the Arkansas, and a monument of possession was reared.

Onward floated the canoes over the broad reaches of the "Father of Waters," and another monument was placed on the bluff where Natchez now stands. On the 6th of April, they came to where the river spreads out into three channels. Dautray led a party down the South Pass; Tonti and Membre, with others, descended the middle one; while La Salle conducted the remainder of the party down the western channel. Briny waters sprayed the canoes, and soon the Gulf of Mexico—the American Mediterranean Sea—lay spread out before them. All were reunited, and on the shoreland, just within one of the outlets, the usual ceremonies were performed. The notary drew up a record of the proceedings, a cross was planted, the escutcheon of France was nailed

to a tree near by, a leaden plate, bearing inscriptions asserting possession, was buried, and then La Salle took solemn possession of all the vast region stretching away from the Rocky Mountains to the Alleghanies—the watershed of the Mississippi—in the name of his king, and that day—the 9th of April, 1682—a wide domain passed into history as Louisiana. To the mighty river he gave the name of St. Louis. Then all returned to the Illinois, whence La Salle dispatched Zenobe Membré to France with an account of the expedition and its results. He and Tonti with their companions now built Fort St. Louis, in which he matured his plans for the colonization of the Mississippi Valley; chief of these was the founding of a permanent settlement at the mouth of the great river. Early in the spring of 1683 he went to Quebec, and soon after sailed for France.

The Marquis de Seignelay, son of Colbert, whom he had succeeded as Minister of Marine, now became the patron of La Salle, who was made Commandant of Louisiana. An expedition was fitted out at the expense of the government to plant a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi, within the bounds of the Louisiana Purchase. It consisted of a squadron of four vessels—the flag-ship “Joli,” the frigate “Aimable,” the brig “La Belle,” and the “St. Francis,” a ketch, all under the command of



STATUE OF LA SALLE, LINCOLN PARK, CHICAGO.

Beaujeau, a captain of the navy. Two hundred and eighty persons went on board, one hundred of whom were soldiers under Joutel, a brother of La Salle. Of the others there were twelve families—men, women and children—five clergymen, and a number of mechanics. The sails were spread and the voyage began from Rochelle on the 4th of July, 1684. The “Joli” reached San Domingo first, the “Aimable” and “La Belle” came in together, but the “St. Francis” never arrived, she having been taken by Spanish privateers. From here Beaujeau sailed for the mouth of the Mississippi, but by mistake missed it, and in January, 1685, cast anchor in Matagorda Bay on the coast of Texas, a hundred leagues west of his destination. Here the “Aimable,” having on board the greater part of the supplies, was wrecked on the sandbars. Then the colonists went on shore, and, on the bank of the little Lavaca River, built a frail structure which they called Fort St. Louis. Beaujeau sailed for France in the “Joli,” on the 15th of March, and the “Belle” alone was left. Soon after, her captain was killed in the forest, and then she was driven on shore by a storm and filled with water. La Salle made a fruitless canoe voyage in search of the mouth of the Mississippi, then endeavored to find the mines in New Spain, but failed in this. With several soldiers he attempted to reach the Illinois country, but again all, disheartened, returned to the shores of the bay.

Meanwhile, Tonti, on the Illinois, having learned from Canada that the expedition had sailed from France, descended the Mississippi to meet his chief at its mouth. In this he was doomed to disappointment. He found that the tree, on which La Salle had placed the arms of France two years before, had blown down, and, despairing of finding the colony, he planted another cross, replaced the arms on another tree, twenty miles from the mouth of the river, and then, having written a letter bearing date April 20, 1685, which he left with the Indians, to be given La Salle if he ever came, he ascended the river and made his way back to the Illinois country.

Now there was sickness, starvation and death in the colony; the living were unable to bury the dead. A desperate effort was made to reach Canada and bring aid therefrom. La Salle, with sixteen others, set out on the journey. Misfortune produced dissension. The leader was blamed for all their griefs and sufferings, and, on the 10th of March, 1687, when on a branch of the Trinity River, in Texas, Du Haut and L'Archeve, prompted by the mutinous spirit that possessed them, concealed themselves in the high grass, and shot and killed La Salle and his nephew. The assassins were then killed in a fight over the spoils; six of the party joined the Indians, but Joutel and the others made their way to the fort on the Illinois,

which they reached September 4, 1687. From here they journeyed to Quebec, whence they soon after sailed for France. Thus failed the first effort of France to found a colony in the Mississippi Valley.

As Tonti and his party were returning from the mouth of the Mississippi, whither he had gone to meet La Salle, they ascended the Arkansas River, fifty miles to a village of the Quapaw Indians. "Some of his people," says Du Pratz, "insisted they might be allowed to settle there, which was agreed to, he leaving ten of them at that place, and this small cantonment maintained its ground, not only because from time to time increased by some Canadians who came down the river, but, above all, because those who formed it, had the prudent precaution to live in peace with the natives." Such was the founding of Arkansas Post, in 1686, the first European settlement within the Louisiana Purchase.

New France was now divided into two vast regions called Canada and Louisiana, to the latter of which belonged the Illinois Country south and west of Lake Michigan. As no bounds were ever fixed, these divisions were spoken of in general way only. But France had established her title to the Louisiana Purchase, basing it on the right of discovery. Her voyagers and explorers had been all along the Mississippi, from the Falls of St. Anthony

chase. But in 1697, Pontchartrain, the French Minister of Marine, sent two ships to explore the Louisiana coast, and gather information regarding it. Iberville was ready to carry out any scheme projected for the colonization of that region, and he obtained a commission for "establishing direct intercourse between France and the Mississippi." Pontchartrain was the patron of the enterprise, and an expedition was fitted out for this purpose. Two frigates, the "Bodine" and "Marin" of thirty guns each, and two transports composed the squadron. On board were two hundred persons—men, women, and children—and a company of miners. Bienville, a brother of Iberville, served as a midshipman on the "Bodine," and Sauvolle as ensign on the "Marin." The sails were set, and on the 17th of October, 1698, the squadron began the voyage from the harbor of Brest, and Iberville, having received orders "to land near the mouth of the Mississippi, and to prevent at all hazards any other nation from landing there," steered for San Domingo. Here the two frigates and one of the transports arrived on the 4th of December ensuing, and the other came into port ten days later. The "Francois," a fifty-four gun ship, was added to the squadron as an escort to the American coast, and all sailed from San Domingo on the 31st of December, and on the 23d of January, 1699, arrived in Pensacola

Bay, in Spanish territory. From here the voyage was continued until, on the 31st, the ships entered Mobile Bay, where a large island was named Massacre, because of the great quantity of human bones found on it. Another move was made, and on the 10th of February the vessels cast anchor in the roadstead at Ship Island, on the shores of which some huts were erected as a protection to the people who sought rest on shore after a long sea voyage.

On the 13th, Iberville, with Bienville and eleven sailors, left the ship and went to explore the shore of the mainland. Eight days later, the "Francois" sailed for San Domingo. On the 27th, Iberville and Bienville went in search of the Mississippi. They paddled along the shore of the gulf past the bluffs of white sand on which stood dense groves of live oaks, water oaks, pines, cedars, and magnolias, until, at last, on the second of March, 1699, "with two row boats, some bark canoes, and fifty-three men," they entered the mouth of a mighty river, henceforth destined to be the royal highway of a nation. They proceeded up stream as far as Red River, where the survivors of De Soto's Spanish army lost their leader, a hundred and fifty years before. While on this voyage they met some of the Indians from whom they received Tonti's letter, written and left with them fourteen years since, to be given to La Salle if he should ever come. From its con-

tents they knew of a certainty that they were in the Mississippi. On the return voyage, Bienville proceeded by way of the mouth of that river, while Iberville entered the river which has since borne his name, and pursued his way through lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, which later received their names in honor of the Minister of Marine and his son, and passed to the outer sea. Both brothers returned to their ships the same day.

A landing was now effected, and a site selected for a settlement. This was on the sandy shore of the little Biloxi Bay, near Ocean Springs, now in Harrison County, Mississippi, the boundary between French Louisiana and Spanish Florida not having been determined. There they erected Fort Maurepas, the walls of wood being eighteen inches thick and nine feet high, and on which were mounted fifty cannon. Seventy men and six boys were landed as a garrison. Sauvolle was installed as commandant, Bienville as the king's lieutenant, and de Bordinac, as chaplain. Then the colonists built their cabins around the walls of the fort. On the 3d of May, Iberville, with two frigates sailed for France, accompanied by one of the transports which went as far as San Domingo for supplies.

In August, Bienville left Fort Maurepas at Biloxi, with several men and two perogues to explore the lower Mis-

Mississippi. Entering its mouth, he proceeded up the stream nearly four hundred miles. He went on shore where Natchez now stands, and was so pleased with the beauty of the place, that he resolved to visit it again. As the perogues were being rowed down the river, they met on the 16th of September, an English ship of sixteen guns. It was commanded by Captain Barr, who informed Bienville that a similar vessel was at the mouth of the river, and that they were sent by Dr. Daniel Coxe, of New Jersey, at the time proprietor of the grant by Charles I., in 1629, to Sir Robert Heath, for Carolina. The object of the voyage was to sound the passage at the mouth of the Mississippi. Bienville told him, in reply, that he was then within the territory of the French king, who was at that moment engaged in settling the country. There Captain Barr, having learned this, turned back, and to this day the place, eighteen miles below New Orleans, is known as the "English Turn." This was, doubtless, the first ship that ever entered the Mississippi River, or navigated the waters of the Louisiana Purchase.

Louis XIV. did not favor the effort to make a permanent settlement at the mouth of the Mississippi, and at this time, April 8, 1699, we find the Minister of Marine writing that "the King does not at present intend to form a permanent establishment on the Mississippi, but only to

complete the discovery in order to prevent the English from taking possession there." But Iberville, on his return to France, explained that the settlement was already made, that Fort Maurepas had been built, and a garrison placed therein. Now that the work of colonization was begun, the King resolved to aid it, and did so to the end of his life.

Early in January, 1700, Iberville again arrived at Fort Maurepas. He came in the good ship "Renominee," which was laden with supplies. He brought with him a commission from the King for Sauvolle, making him Governor of the Colony. Bienville now reported the recent appearance of the English ships at the mouth of the Mississippi, and Iberville, remembering his instruction not to permit "any other nation to land there," saw that it must be fortified if successfully defended. Accordingly, he with Bienville and several members of the garrison departed for that purpose. In January, 1700, a fort was built on what is now known as "Poverty Point," fifty-four miles from the mouth of the river, and on its east bank. This was the first structure ever reared by Europeans on the banks of the Mississippi. It was named Fort Balise. Bienville was made commandant here, while Sauvolle continued in that capacity at Fort Maurepas.

About the first of March, Iberville proceeded up the river to view the site of Natchez, of the beauty of which

Bienville had informed him. He, too, was delighted with it, and on the high bluff laid out *Le Ville de Rosalie*. From there, in April, he sent *Sieur Lessueur* with a party up the Mississippi in search of copper mines. They proceeded as far as the mouth of the *St. Peter's River*, now the *Minnesota*, and spent a fruitless winter among the *Iowa Indians*, within the present limits of the *Louisiana Purchase*. *Iberville* descended the river, and proceeded to the "*Renouinee*," lying at anchor in the roadstead of *Ship Island*, in which he sailed for France about the first of May, and was absent more than a year.

Meantime, there was sickness and death in the little colony on the lonely and inhospitable *Louisiana shore*. Half the colonists perished, and were buried in the glittering sands at *Biloxi*, or in the spongy soil on the bank of the *Mississippi*. Among those interred at the former place was *Sauvolle*, who died August 22, 1701. Thus perished the first Governor of *Louisiana*. When *Bienville* heard of this, he left a subordinate in command on the *Mississippi*, and hastened to *Biloxi*, where he assumed the duties of Governor of the Colony.

Early in December, 1701, *Iberville* for the third time reached *Fort Maurepas*, with two ships of the line, and a brig laden with arms and provisions. He visited the grave of his kinsman, *Sauvolle*, on the sandy beach, and with

Bienville, mourned his death. Then he hastened to the great enterprise with which he was charged—that of making permanent the settlement of the Louisiana Purchase. A garrison of twelve men was left at Fort Maurepas, and the seat of the colony was removed to Massacre Island, which then received the name of Dauphine Island. Here Iberville superintended the erection of Fort St. Louis, which, henceforth, for nine years, continued to be the headquarters of the colonial establishment.

Early in the spring of 1702, Iberville left the shore of Louisiana never to see it again. In the following year he was made Captain-General of the Colony; but the War of the Spanish Succession, better known in America as Queen Anne's War, was at hand, and he, as the chief naval officer of France, went to sea with a fleet of war vessels, and while lying in the harbor of Havana, preparing to ravage the coast of Carolina, died on the 9th of July, 1706.

In July, 1703, the government sent out a ship with supplies, and having on board seventy-five soldiers—the first regulars sent to the Mississippi Valley. The next year Antoine Lemoine de Chateaugay, another brother of Iberville, arrived at Fort St. Louis with a cargo of supplies and seventeen settlers from Canada.

Now the French authorities recognized the fact that the stability of the colony would be secured only by the

establishment of family ties. Up to this time very few of the colonists had come to Louisiana with the intention of finding a permanent home. Nearly all were adventurers who had left France with the determination to return some time—either when they had accumulated a fortune or had gratified a desire for adventure. The endearment of home and friends are the ties that bind a man to a fixed habitation, and now, if these could be found on this side the Atlantic, then would the adventurers relinquish the fond hope of some time returning to France, and thus the permanency of the colony would be assured. To achieve this end, Louis XIV., in 1704, caused twenty females to be sent over sea to become wives of the colonists. He said to Bienville: "All these girls are industrious, and have received a virtuous and pious education." Then he added that they were to be married only to "such men as are capable of providing them with commodious homes." Such was the compliment paid by the aged King of France to the first European mothers of the Louisiana Purchase. Twenty-five more women, of similar good character, came over in the next year.

The year 1705 was a gloomy one. There was pestilence and death, and at one time there were but forty-five able bodied men in the colony. The fort on the Mississippi was abandoned, the garrison retiring to Fort St. Louis. Thus

there were then but two settlements—Biloxi and Dauphine Island—and at the end of the year, so great had been the fatality that there were but one hundred and forty-five people alive in the colony. In the midst of this distress, M. Barrot, the first regularly educated physician in the Louisiana Purchase, arrived at Dauphine Island. He was sent by the King to minister to the wants of the suffering. In 1707, De Muys was appointed to succeed Bienville, but he died at Havana while on his way to the colony, and Bienville remained as Governor of Louisiana. Queen Anne's War continued, and this resulted in the neglect of all colonial interests. In 1710, there were but two hundred and forty-nine Europeans in the colony, of whom one hundred and twenty-two were soldiers, and they were the possessors of fifty cows, forty calves, twelve oxen, fourteen hundred hogs, and two thousand hens. Such was the Louisiana Purchase twelve years after the founding of the settlement at Biloxi.

Bienville now resolved to remove the settlement from Dauphine Island to the mainland, and he selected a site on the west bank of Mobile River at the head of the bay, and there erected Fort St. Louis de Mobile. The removal was made in 1711, and here was located the capital of Louisiana for the next twelve years.

CHAPTER V.

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE GRANTED TO ANTHONY
CROZET.

In the summer of 1712 there were in all Louisiana but twenty-eight families—each more wretched than the others—and the total population, including two companies of fifty men each, numbered but four hundred, of whom twenty were negroes. To the astonishment of all, Anthony Crozet petitioned Louis XIV., and obtained the exclusive right to trade with that country. He was at this time one of the foremost commercial men of France, and, perhaps, the wealthiest merchant in Europe, having accumulated a vast fortune in the East India trade. He had lent large sums of money to France when in need, and was recognized, in consideration of his worth and influence, by being created Marquis de Chatil.

His charter, dated at Versailles, September 12, 1712, was signed at Fontainebleau by Louis XIV., in the seventieth year of his reign, and registered at Paris on the 27th ensuing. It included all the lands possessed by France in Louisiana, and "bounded by New Mexico on the west; by the lands of the English of Carolina, on the east; and from the edge of the sea so far north as the Illinois;

together with all the inhabitants, forts, houses and rivers," including the St. Louis, now the Mississippi; the St. Philip, now the Missouri; and the St. Jerome, now the Wabash. The region thus granted was a greater empire than France was ever to be, and the privileges were to continue for a period of fifteen years.

By the terms of this charter, the King was to pay ten thousand dollars annually for nine years to assist in defraying the expenses of Louisiana, after which time, Crozet was to pay the whole cost of maintaining the colonial system, including the erection of forts and the support of garrisons. All persons were forbidden to trade with Louisiana during its continuance "under pain of confiscation of goods and ships." Crozet was to receive three-fourths of the proceeds of all mines worked, the King the other fourth; to own forever all lands which he might put under cultivation, and the buildings which he might erect thereon. He was to send two shiploads of colonists and one cargo of negroes annually to the colony, and was to nominate all officers, the same to be appointed by the King. The code of Paris was adopted for the government of the colony, in addition to which was to be added an executive council similar to that of San Domingo. Thus were the manners, customs and laws of the French capital made those of the Louisiana Purchase.

Two ships with supplies and settlers, and having on board Crozet's government, arrived in Mobile Bay, May 17, 1713. Lamothe de Cadillac came as Governor. He was an old Canadian soldier, who, in 1701, with a hundred men from Quebec, built Fort Pontchartrain on the site of the present city of Detroit. With him came Lemoine des Ursins, Crozet's colonial agent. They brought a commission for Bienville as Lieutenant-Governor. Cadillac was greatly disappointed with Louisiana which he had been told was a flourishing colony, but which he found on his arrival to be but a "miserable existence." He wrote Crozet saying: "Its story is nothing but fables and lies." Then he added: "Believe me, this whole continent is not worth having, and our colonists are so dissatisfied that they are all disposed to run away."

The proprietor, in 1714, insisted on a cultivation of the lands and the development of a commerce, and desired that trading stations be established not only along the Mississippi but on the Wabash, Illinois and Missouri rivers. To this, when making reply, Cadillac said: "What! is it expected that for any commercial or profitable purposes boats will ever be able to row up the Mississippi into the Wabash, the Illinois, or the Missouri? One might as well try to bite a slice off the moon." Little thought the old Governor at that time that two centuries

hence these rivers would be the seat of the greatest inland commerce of the world.

The chief business of all was to search for mines. They expected that they would grow rich by the discovery of gold, silver and precious stones, and in this pursuit their best energies were wasted. Even Cadillac himself ascended the Mississippi a thousand miles, and traversed the Illinois country in search of silver mines. Population increased, but there were but few negroes, and they were in the vicinity of the fort at Mobile. Crozet now attempted to open trade with New Spain. In 1715, he sent M. de St. Denis on an overland journey to Mexico City to make a treaty of commerce with that country. He arrived there on the 5th of June, and was kindly received by the Duke of Linarez, then Viceroy of New Spain, who promised that such a treaty should be made. But he soon after died, and his successor was opposed to this. Emissaries were also sent, by Crozet, to Spanish Florida, but failed in their mission because of the exclusive features of his charter by which he obtained a monopoly of the trade of the Louisiana Purchase. Neither could his agents control the Indian trade, some of which went to Canada, and another part to the English in Carolina.

Early in the year 1716, Cadillac sent Bienville to build a fort on the Mississippi. With a small body of troops he hastened away to the site of Natchez, which he had ad-

mired so much, and on which Iberville had laid out a town sixteen years before. Here he reared the walls of Fort Rosalie and, while superintending that work, smoked the calumet of peace with the chiefs of the Natchez nation, whose warriors assisted in the construction of the fort. The work was completed on the 3d of August, and Bienville, having detailed a garrison from troops with him, returned to Mobile on the 4th of October, 1716. Prior to this year all communication between Canada and Louisiana had been by way of the Wisconsin and Illinois Rivers, but now journeys began to be made along the Wabash and down the Ohio to the Mississippi.

There was much discouragement in Louisiana. The rich mines, supposed to exist, had not been found. Agriculture was wholly neglected. Louis XIV., Crozet's best friend, died September 1, 1715, and was succeeded by Louis XV., then but five years of age, with the Duke of Orleans as Regent of France. Cadillac resigned the office of Governor, and on the 9th of March, 1717, De L'Epiney arrived at Mobile as his successor. A few months more satisfied Crozet with his Louisiana experiment, and, after having spent hundreds of thousands of francs in the Mississippi wilderness without profit, he surrendered his charter on the 23d of August, 1717, when it had been in force four years, eleven months and nine days.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE UNDER THE WEST INDIES
COMPANY, AND THE COMPANY OF THE INDIES.

The Louisiana Purchase was a wilderness in which the vain search for gold and the trading in furs, rather than the substantial pursuits of agriculture, allured the colonists to ruin. There the bones of deceased emigrants who had been induced by Iberville and Crozet to seek the Mississippi as their home, still whitened its valleys; yet, in France, visions of untold wealth existing somewhere along its tributary streams were ever before the people, who thus beheld mines of silver and gold, beds of precious gems, plantations of infinite extent and surpassing beauty, towns and cities, commerce and trade, which were desired to replenish an empty treasury and thus save the failing fortunes of a sinking empire.

On the 6th day of September, but fourteen days after the Duke of Orleans accepted the charter of Crozet, he granted another to the West India Company, which succeeded to all the franchises surrendered by the former, with greatly increased privileges. John Law, who organized this company, and who was its director-general,

was a man of a remarkable career. He was a Scotchman, born in Edinburgh in 1671; went to London when twenty years of age; traveled over Europe; studied banking and commerce; accumulated money by speculation, and, in 1716, became a banker in Paris.

His maxim was "Wealth depends upon commerce," and his company was given a monopoly of the Canadian trade, and practical sovereignty over the Louisiana Purchase. By the terms of its charter, it was granted the exclusive right to the trade of the latter for twenty-five years, and, in addition thereto, possessed extraordinary powers. It could cultivate lands, develop mines, make treaties with the Indians, wage war, levy troops, erect forts, maintain garrisons, grant lands, fit out ships of war, cast cannon, establish courts, and appoint and remove judges. Its capital, fixed at one hundred millions of francs, was divided into two hundred thousand shares of five hundred francs each. France was on the verge of bankruptcy because of the extravagant expenditure of Louis XIV., and the national securities were almost worthless, but, upon the payment of one-fourth in cash, these could now be exchanged for the stock of the company, which was, therefore, in great demand.

At the time that Louisiana was first made known, a rumor spread throughout the Old World that all its vast

regions were full of mines. These had never been discovered; still a vague report had remained in the minds of the people that this country concealed immense treasures. No one could tell the exact spot where these riches might be found, but this uncertainty of itself tended rather to encourage the search for them. Law and his company easily persuaded the French people that these mines, so long spoken of, had at last been found, and they were far richer than they had been supposed to be. To give credence to this, a number of miners were sent to Louisiana to work them, and these were accompanied by a body of troops to protect them while thus employed.

This was enough. Every man exerted himself to acquire the right of partaking of this source of wealth which was believed to be inexhaustible. In addition to mines, there were fertile lands, and cultivators of the soil were wanted. The company offered free transportation to all who would go to Louisiana, and there take possession of the lands to be given them. The whole region was believed to be the best in the world. The Mississippi became the center of all men's minds, hopes and aspirations. It was the most popular financial scheme that ever flourished in France. The people were possessed with a mad frenzy of speculation; the wealthy sold their estates to enable them to purchase the stock of the company, which

had risen many hundred per cent, while numbers of those without means went on board ships bound for Louisiana, thinking that in some unknown manner wealth would flow in upon them. In May, 1719, the company received a further concession of the monopoly of the trade of Africa and the East Indies and China, and took upon itself the name of the Company of the Indies. It now practically controlled the foreign trade of the kingdom. It increased its capital to six hundred and twenty-four thousand shares, and in connection with Law's bank it undertook to pay the national debt of France. Law was possessed of regal powers, for he now occupied the position of the foremost financier of his time. His house was beset from morning till night with applicants for stock. Dukes, marquises and counts, with their wives and daughters, waited for hours in the street before his door, to know the result of their applications, and the crowd became so great that the headquarters were removed to the Hotel de Soissons.

But the system was already complete and had begun to decay. It was at its height at the beginning of 1720. The government became alarmed because of the colossal character of the scheme. A panic ensued. Suddenly the dream was dissolved; the mines vanished; the transports of joy produced by the possession of wealth gave place to

the gloom and silence of misfortune. Many thousands had lost their all, and there was financial ruin on every hand. The enchanted country was now held in execration. Its very name became a reproach. The Mississippi was the terror of all men, and no recruits could be found to send there. The bank failed; Law fled from Paris, and after wandering over Europe for nine years, died in poverty in Venice. His scheme, the greatest of its kind the world has ever known, while it wrecked the fortunes of thousands, gave to trade a mighty impulse, and this was felt in Louisiana. The Company of the Indies was now reduced to a simple commercial corporation, with the business of which Law had nothing to do. It continued to hold its franchises in Louisiana, and henceforth controlled the affairs of the colony for several years. These we shall now proceed to notice.

In 1717, the canton of Illinois was detached from Canada, and added to Louisiana, with Dugue de Boisbriant, a cousin of Bienville, as commandant. On the 9th of March of the following year, three of the company's ships—the first sent out—arrived at Mobile Bay. They brought large quantities of supplies, three companies of infantry and sixty-nine settlers. With them came a commission for Chateauguy as commandant of the military forces of Louisiana, and one for Bienville, making him

Governor of the colony. His first act was to send a party to clear the site of the present city of New Orleans. In a few days he followed with the newly arrived colonists, and, in the dense canebrakes laid out the city after the plan of Rochefort, in France, naming it in honor of the Duke of Orleans, "who denied God and trembled at a star." That day he located a city with twice as much river navigation above it as any other city on the globe.

In 1718, eight hundred persons, sent by the company, arrived in the country, one of whom was Le Page du Pratz, the first historian of the Louisiana Purchase. The three ships bearing them sailed from Rochelle; the first four days of the voyage were stormy, but fair weather followed. The first land seen was Puerto Rico, and the next, San Domingo, where, at Cape Francois, a landing was effected. Isle Dauphine was reached on the 25th of August, where "all united in singing *Te Deum* because no life had been lost on the voyage." There they were joined, three days later, by Bienville, who came to conduct them to the new town on the Mississippi, where they were to receive their assignment of lands. Of those who came, "some perished for want of enterprise, some for want of food, some from the climate, while others prospered exceedingly." Hardy Canadian emigrants came, who were more successful than those from France, and others ar-

rived from over sea, so that in the year 1718, fifteen hundred immigrants reached Louisiana.

The company having resolved to profit by the experiment of Crozet, encouraged the tillage of lands. In 1718, it introduced the cultivation of rice and wheat. The former speedily became an important article of culture. Of the latter it was said that, "From the careless mode of cultivation, it would, at first, only yield from five to eight fold, running to straw and blade without filling the ear." In 1746, however, the culture was so far extended that six hundred barrels of flour were received at New Orleans, from the Wabash, and in the year 1750, the French of Illinois raised three times as much wheat as they consumed, and large quantities of grain and flour were sent to market; in 1797, more than two thousand barrels of flour were received at New Orleans from Upper Louisiana. Du Pratz had said that the plains of Louisiana were more valuable than the mines of Mexico, and worth more to trade and navigation than the richest mines of Peru.

Large grants of land were made throughout the whole known part of the Louisiana Purchase. To every actual settler, the company gave a suitable piece of land, with seed to plant it, a gun, an ax, a mattock, a cow, a calf, and a cock and six hens. John Law, the founder of the company, received for himself twelve miles square "near

Quapaw," an Indian town at the mouth of Arkansas River. Here he proposed to establish a "Grand Duchy." M. Levins was his trustee. It was to be colonized by German, Swiss and French emigrants. The proprietor sent over accoutrements for a company of dragoons soon to follow, and spent one and a half millions of francs in preparing for improvements; it would certainly have been a flourishing settlement, had not the troops been stopped, and had not the arms, provisions and merchandise, which he was sending there, been confiscated and sold to satisfy creditors after his failure. His colonists, almost to a man, removed and settled on the west side of the Mississippi above New Orleans. The place has ever since been known as the German Coast.

In 1719, eleven ships brought immigrants to Louisiana, and five hundred negroes were imported from the coast of Guinea. At the beginning of this year, ships arrived at New Orleans bringing information of a war between France and Spain, and Bienville resolved to take Pensacola. He collected the few regulars, and enlisted as volunteers a number of Canadian and French emigrants, just arrived, and with M. de Richebourg as captain, and Chateaugay as the King's lieutenant, he sailed away, and Pensacola was taken by surprise. The entire garrison, including the Spanish governor, were made prisoners.

These were sent to Havana, according to the terms of surrender, and Bienville having detailed a garrison for the captured town, returned to New Orleans. Soon after, the Spanish man-of-war, "Great Devil," sailed to attack the Louisiana settlements. She was met by the French man-of-war, "St. Philip," Other vessels of both nations came up, and on the 7th of September, a naval battle was fought in Mobile Bay, which resulted in a victory for the French. A treaty of peace between the two nations was concluded the same year, and by its terms the Perdido River was agreed upon as the boundary line between French Louisiana and Spanish Florida. Thus the settlements of Biloxi, Dauphine Island, and Mobile were found to be in French territory. This year, too, the company sent two hundred miners to New Orleans. Philip Francois Renault was in charge of them, with the title of Director-General of the Mines of Louisiana. He purchased five hundred slaves in San Domingo to work the mines, and with this force reached the Illinois country in 1720, and established his headquarters a few miles above Kaskaskia, on the site of Fort Chartres, where he founded the village of St. Philip's. From there expeditions were sent out far and wide, even to the banks of the Ohio and the valley of the Missouri in the vain search for gold and silver, neither of which was found; but the lead mines of

Missouri, including those of the St. Francis River, were discovered, opened, and the product smelted and shipped to France. While this search for mines was being made, Bienville sent M. du Tissenet, a French officer, from New Orleans, to explore Upper Louisiana. He ascended the Mississippi and the Missouri to the mouth of the Osage, up which he went two hundred and fifty miles to visit the Indian nation of that name; thence he traversed the prairie one hundred and twenty-five miles to the country of the Pawnees. After remaining there some time he journeyed fifteen days to the westward, where, on one of the upper tributaries of the Kansas River, he found the Padukah nation, from whom he received a welcome reception. Here, on the 27th of September, 1719, he reared a cross, and placed thereon the arms of France. He probably crossed the trail of Coronado, the Spanish explorer, who traversed this region nearly two centuries before. At the same time, M. de Bourgmont went with a small detachment of French troops from Mobile and took possession of an island in the Missouri River just above the mouth of the Osage, on which he built Fort Orleans.

The Spaniards in New Mexico watched with jealous eyes the movements of the French in thus taking possession of the Missouri Valley. In 1713, they had, in anticipation of French occupation in the valley of the Red

River, entered it themselves, and founded on its banks the town of Natchitoches, the second permanent settlement made by Europeans within the Louisiana Purchase. Now they undertook a similar movement in the Missouri Valley. Early in the year 1720, an expedition was fitted out at Santa Fe for the purpose of founding a colony far beyond the limits to which they had hitherto confined themselves. The caravans directed their march toward the country of the Osages, whom they wished to induce to take up arms against their inveterate enemies—the Missouris—whose territory they had resolved to occupy. The Spaniards missed their course, and came directly to the nation whose ruin they were meditating, and, mistaking them for the Osages, communicated to them their design, without any reserve whatever. The chief of the Missouris who learned by this singular mistake of the danger which threatened his people, told the Spaniards that he would gladly concur in promoting the success of the undertaking, and desired only forty-eight hours in which to assemble his warriors. This he did, and then, while the Spaniards slept, massacred every one without regard to age or sex, except the chaplain, who was spared because of the vestments he wore. Thus was prevented the settlement of a Spanish colony on the Missouri nearly two centuries ago. This massacre is believed to have occurred near the site of Leavenworth, Kansas.

In the last named year the company built Fort Chartres, on the east side of the Mississippi, twelve miles above Kaskaskia, and sixty-four below the mouth of the Missouri. Its ramparts of stone, garnished with twenty cannon, scowled across the Mississippi, and the surrounding country. Its walls were eighteen feet high, with four bastions and fifty-eight loopholes. It was the best constructed military work in America at that time. There was fixed the seat of government of Upper Louisiana, and there it was to continue for more than forty years. The next year was a busy one. Great warehouses were constructed at New Orleans, Biloxi, and Mobile. The company provided that the people might obtain all their merchandise and provisions at the last named place, or at Dauphine Island, but, if delivered at New Orleans, five per cent would be added; at Natchez, ten per cent; at Yazoo, thirteen per cent; and if on the Missouri, or in the Illinois country, fifty per cent. One thousand three hundred and sixty-seven negroes were now brought from Africa. Immigrants continued to arrive, and at the close of the year it was shown that the company, since its organization, had dispatched forty-three ships to Louisiana, and that these had brought seven thousand and twenty people to the colony. But of this number, about two thousand had died, deserted, or gone back to France.

Early in 1722, the Duke of Orleans appointed three commissioners—Toget, Ferrund and Machinet—who had been nominated by the company, to divide Louisiana into Parishes. This was done, and they were named as follows; New Orleans, Biloxi, Mobile, Alibamons, Natchez, Yazoo, Arkansas, and Illinois. Thus was Illinois still retained as a canton of Louisiana. It was then regarded as the "Granary of the Mississippi Valley." The next year Bienville removed the seat of government to New Orleans, where there were then "about a hundred very humble houses," and a population of "between two and three hundred souls." It had been at Biloxi three years, at Dauphine Island nine years, at Mobile twelve years. Now it was permanently fixed at New Orleans. In 1722, when Charlevoix saw the future metropolis of Louisiana, it was a "wild desert place covered with reeds and trees." One of the best men in the colony at this time was de la Chaise, who was the chief commercial agent of the company. His honesty and integrity won not only the confidence of the proprietors, but of the people as well. His will was for years supreme, even the executive submitting to it.

In the year 1724, a fierce war raged among the Indians of the Missouri Valley. In it the Missouris, Osages, Kansas, Padukahs, and other nations were engaged. M. de

Bourgemont, who was then stationed at Fort Orleans, which, as formerly stated, he had erected on an island in the Missouri River, determined to bring about a peace among these warring nations around him. With a small detachment of French soldiers from his garrison, he set out on the 3d of July of this year, and proceeded directly to the Missouris, with whose chiefs he smoked the pipe of peace. Having augmented his little army, he proceeded to the country of the Osages, where the pipe was again smoked. Several warriors enlisted, and the march was continued to the principal town of the Kansas nation. There he delivered an address upon the evils of the war then raging, and pledged the chiefs to a truce. Many warriors there joined him, and all journeyed to the country of the Padukahs, where he was hospitably received. There gathered the chiefs of the nations now visited, and Bourgemont explained to them that the great French chief was opposed to war, and that it was his will that all should live together in peace like brothers and friends, and if they wanted his love, affection and assistance, they must live thus for the future. His efforts were successful and hostilities ceased. He again smoked with them, and requested them to smoke the pipe with each other. To all he gave presents of red and blue shirts, sabres, gunpowder, balls, musket-flints,

gun-screws, mattocks, hatchets, Flemish knives, wood-cutters, clasp-knives, mirrors, combs, scissors, beads, awls, needles, drinking-glasses, brass wire, rings and other articles. Then he explained to them that the French flag—the beautiful fleur-de-lis—was the emblem of peace and friendship, and if they accepted it, they must study war no more. The chiefs of each nation bore the flag back to their people, and within a few weeks the warriors of each were hunting and fishing together, and regaling themselves in the wigwams of each other. M. Bourgemont returned to Fort Orleans on the 5th of November, after an absence of four months, in which time he had established the rule of France in the valley of the Missouri, and that, too, without the shedding of a drop of blood. He kept a journal of the daily transactions, and to this Du Pratz, the historian, had access soon after it was written.

Now the colony was torn by dissension, and Bienville was ordered to France. He sailed in January, 1724, leaving Dugue Du Broisbriant, former commandant of the canton of Illinois, as Acting Governor. For twenty-five years he had not been outside of Louisiana, except when on his Pensacola campaign in 1719. His successor, M. Perrier, arrived in the colony, March 9, 1726, and at once assumed the office of Governor. He improved New

Orleans, enlarged its limits, discouraged the vain search for mines, and encouraged agriculture so that within two years after his arrival, rice, indigo and tobacco were grown successfully. Next year Du Poisson, a missionary, ascended the Mississippi almost to its source, and remained some time among the Dakotah Indians.

Around Fort Rosalie dwelt the Natchez Indians, whose traditions and character connected them with the Mayas of Yucatan. They were Sun Worshipers, and kept a fire burning continually in their temple. Of them it may be said that they were the best civilized Indians who dwelt within the present limits of the United States. M. Chopart was in command of the garrison at Fort Rosalie. Six miles away was the White-Apple-Town of this nation. Its location—a beautiful one—Chopart demanded for a site for a plantation. The demand was refused by the chief, Great Sun, on whom it was made. The French officer then threatened to seize it by force. Then the Natchez planned a general massacre. This took place November 29, 1729, at which time the home of every Frenchman was attacked; the fort was taken by stratagem, and on that day two hundred and fifty people fell victims at the hands of these barbarous people. Not more than twenty whites and six negroes escaped, and one hundred and twenty children, eighty women, and nearly as

many negroes were taken prisoners. A few days later, Du Poisson, who had gone as a missionary to the Dakotahs, but who was then stationed among the Kansas Indians crossed over to Natchez, and was cruelly put to death. The massacre proved to be sad work for the Natchez nation. Governor Perrier sent a vessel to France with tidings of the horrible deed, and then hastened to prepare for war. New Orleans was fortified, and there were eight hundred French soldiers in Louisiana. The Chickasaws and Yazoos were the allies of the Natchez, while the Choctaws joined the French. The war was carried into the Indian country. On the 27th of January, 1730, Lesueur, a Canadian officer, with seven hundred Choctaw warriors, attacked the Natchez at St. Catherine's creek, eighteen miles below Fort Rosalie, and killed sixty of their warriors, and took twenty prisoners. On the 13th of February ensuing, Cavalier de Loubouis, with a force of five hundred French soldiers, which he had assembled at the mouth of Red River, attacked them at Fort Rosalie. A parley ensued, and the Natchez agreed to put all their prisoners—women and children—into the custody of the Choctaws. This they did, and that very night fled across the Mississippi.

It was now the year 1730, and there were five thousand whites and two thousand five hundred blacks in Louisiana.

The Company of the Indies had controlled the affairs of the colony for fourteen years, in which it had succeeded no better than Crozet. And now, after having spent twenty millions of francs in its effort to colonize and develop Louisiana, it surrendered its charter, together with all fortresses, artillery, ammunition, warehouses and plantations, with the negroes belonging thereto, and on the 10th of April, 1732, Louis XV., by royal proclamation, dissolved the company, and declared his Province of Louisiana free to all his subjects.

CHAPTER VII.

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE UNDER ROYAL GOVERNMENT.

Louis XV., then in the twenty-second year of his age, was on the throne of France, and his colonial policy was broad and liberal. The Louisiana Purchase was now called the "Province of Louisiana." M. Perrier was continued as Governor; M. Salmon, the Commissary of Marine, and M. Perrier de Solvent, a brother of the Governor, with the title of Lieutenant-General, both now came to Louisiana. The latter brought with him one hundred and fifty marines, and he and the Governor having augmented this force by the addition of militia, and Choctaw warriors, hastened away to attack the Natchez Indians, who, after the massacre of the year before, had fled to the west side of the Mississippi. There they made their final stand on the banks of Silver Creek, a tributary of the Black River, where, in the first battle ever fought between white men and Indians within the Louisiana Purchase, the Great Sun, with forty warriors and three hundred and sixty-five women and children were made prisoners, taken to New Orleans, and thence sent to San Domingo, where they were sold as slaves to the planters.

The nation was destroyed. The remnant that escaped sought refuge among the Chickasaws.

Governor Perrier was succeeded by Bienville, the old veteran of the Mississippi, who again returned to Louisiana, after an absence of nine years. It was now expected to see a rising colony, which in time might grow into a powerful nation of infinite advantage to France. To aid in this, the government did all possible to advance colonial interests. To such an extent did it go in this direction that it even prohibited the cultivation of tobacco in France that the nation's supply might be grown in Louisiana, and the colony thus enriched by its sales at home where the consumption was twenty million pounds annually.

One of the first acts of Bienville was to rebuild Fort Rosalie at Natchez. The Chickasaw nation had its home on the upper tributaries of the Tombigbee, Mobile and Yazoo rivers. Its warriors were the fiercest and bravest of all the southern Indians with whom the French colonists came in contact. Bienville demanded that the Natchez who had taken refuge among them should be given up. To this the chiefs with great courage and indignation refused to comply. This meant war, and both sides prepared for the struggle. M. De Blanc, with six boats was sent up the Mississippi with orders from Bienville to D'Artaguette, Commandant of Illinois, to bring all

the force possible, and join him on the 10th of May, 1736, in the Chickasaw country. The boat laden with ammunition was left at the mouth of the Arkansas, the others returning to New Orleans, and a detachment was sent down from Illinois for it. When near the mouth of the Ohio, this was attacked and all on board killed, except Du Tissenet, Jr., and one, Rosalie, who were taken prisoners, but afterward escaped.

Meantime, Bienville went by sea to the mouth of the Mobile River, where he met the head chief of the Choctaws, now the allies of the French. To him the merchandise given in consideration of the assistance about to be rendered, was delivered, and Bienville returned to New Orleans, where he mustered an army numbering five hundred and forty-four French soldiers, some militia, free negroes and slaves. All set out for the mouth of the Mobile, where twelve hundred Choctaws were already in waiting. On the second of April the advance up the river began, the Indians marching along its eastern bank. The destination was the Chickasaw capital, which was situated near Pontotoc on a stream of that name, now in Lee County, in northern Mississippi. Here was a fort erected under the direction of English traders from Carolina. There were palisades and earthworks with portholes all around.

On the 20th of April, the army reached the mouth of the Tombigbee, where it remained until the 4th of May, when the line of march was again taken up, and on the 26th it lay before the Chickasaw fort—the French soldiers in the center, and the Choctaws forming the two wings. An attack was made at once, but Bienville had no artillery, and he could not succeed. The English flag was flying over the fort in which were thirty traders, and in a battle lasting four hours, the French were defeated, having sustained a loss of thirty-two killed and seventy wounded. The former were left on the field of the disastrous defeat, and the army fled in disorder back to the Tombigbee, which it descended in boats, and returned to New Orleans. But the rout of Bienville's army was not the worst. D'Artaguet, the Commandant of Illinois, had obeyed orders, and with thirty men from the garrison of Fort Chartres, a hundred volunteers from the inhabitants, and nearly the entire fighting force of the Kaskaskia Indians, began his march to join Bienville. Father Sinilac, the founder of Vincennes, with a body of Miami Indians, and some Iroquois warriors, met him at the mouth of the Ohio, and the whole force entered the Chickasaw country. On the morning of May 9th, all were before the fort which was not reached by Bienville for sixteen days thereafter. D'Artaguet waited until

the 21st, and then with his three hundred and sixty-six French and Indians attacked the fort. His allies fled at the first fire. He with Sinilac and nineteen more of the French were taken prisoners and burned at the stake. The remnant that escaped was conducted back to the Mississippi by a boy—Voisson by name—but sixteen years of age. A gloom now spread over Louisiana, and Bienville was greatly grieved when he heard of the tragic death of these men.

The colonists had now learned of the powerful enemy with which they had to deal, and the Governor sent to France for aid. This time the movement was to be made by the Mississippi, and a detachment from New Orleans ascended that river, and erected a fort as a base of supplies at the mouth of the St. Francis—the first structure reared by Europeans within the present limits of the State of Missouri. Thither went the regulars, a body of colonial militia, and a number of Choctaw warriors. Bienville arrived, the army advanced, and he fixed the place of rendezvous at the mouth of the Little Wolf River—the Margot of the French—where Memphis now stands. There on the bluffs he built Fort Assumption, so called from the day on which he arrived. It was but forty-five miles distant from the Chickasaw capital. Here the army gathered. M. de Noailles came with seven hundred regulars

from France; De Celeron brought the cadets of Quebec and Montreal; then came De la Buissoniere, the new Commandant of Illinois, bringing with him a part of the garrison from Fort Chartres, a body of militia, and some Illinois warriors, until at the great review on the 12th of November, 1739, there were twelve hundred white men and twenty-four hundred Indians—the largest army that up to that time had ever been assembled on the banks of the Mississippi. Wagons and sledges were constructed and roads cleared that the cannon might be transported for the siege of the Chickasaw capital. The horses for this purpose were brought from Illinois. But now, from some unaccountable cause, the army lay here from August, 1739, until April, 1740. Provisions became so scarce that the horses that were to draw the artillery were eaten; then sickness raged, and death ensued. Bienville gave up the thought of invasion, and resorted to diplomacy. On the 15th of March he detailed De Celeron, with his lieutenant, M. de St. Lausent, and the cadets, to go to the Chickasaw capital to offer terms of peace in his name. The chiefs, believing this to be but the advance guard of the invading army on the Mississippi, hastily accepted the terms offered, and carried the pipe to Bienville, who smoked it with them. Thus ended the war with the Chickasaws, in April, 1740. Both forts—that of Assump-

tion, and the one on the St. Francis—were demolished, and Bienville returned to New Orleans after an absence of ten months.

The scarcity of a circulating medium hindered industrial enterprise, and to remedy this the first issue of paper money in the Louisiana Purchase was made in 1736, the amount being forty thousand dollars. Seven years later there was another issue, but about the only effect of it was to drive what little specie there was out of circulation.

In 1743, De Verennes de la Verandrye, a young Canadian officer, endeavored to reach the mysterious mountains which the Indians asserted stood far beyond the sources of the Missouri. With his brother and two Canadian soldiers, he penetrated the vast unknown wilds from Fort de la Ren , on the Assiniboin, three hundred miles west of Lake Winnipeg. Journeying up the Mouse River to the villages of the Mandan Indians, near the site of the present city of Bismarck, the capital of North Dakota, he thence ascended the Upper Missouri, traversed the gorges of the Wind River Mountains, and then, at the "Gate of the Rocky Mountains," which range he had discovered, he reared a monument bearing the arms of France, and thus asserted the title of that country to the region now included in the States of Montana and Idaho.

He and his companions were the first Europeans that ever trod the dreary wastes of the Upper Missouri.

In 1743, Bienville left Louisiana never to return. He had been Governor of the colony for thirty-four years, in which time he had won the title of the "Father of Louisiana." He was now sixty-four years of age, and was yet to live twenty-five years. His successor was the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who arrived at New Orleans, May 10, 1743, at which time there were four thousand white people, two thousand and twenty negroes, and a French army of eight hundred men in the Louisiana Purchase. He confirmed the treaty made by Bienville with the Chickasaws, and there was nevermore to be war between the French and the Indians in the Mississippi Valley. Like Cadillac in the time of Crozet, he was much interested in mining, and he sent miners over the plains of Illinois and Missouri in search of gold, silver, and precious gems. Among his first acts was to grant to one Deruisseau the sole right to control the trade of the Missouri River and its tributaries.

Vaudreuil's administration continued ten years, at the end of which time he was made Governor-General of Canada, and went to Quebec. His successor in the government of the Louisiana Purchase was Captain Louis de Kerlerec, an officer of the French navy, who landed at New Orleans on the 9th of February, 1753. His admin-

istration extended over a memorable period in American history, and ere it closed he witnessed the fall of the French power east of the Mississippi. In 1755, the struggle between France and Great Britain, known in America as the French and Indian War, began. Its chief cause was the dispute as to the territorial claims of the two nations. It continued for seven years, and when it ended Quebec had fallen, and Vaudreuil—the former Governor of Louisiana—had surrendered Canada and all its dependencies to the British crown. Spain had been engaged in the war on the side of France, and the British had taken Havana and the Philippine Islands, but, by the terms of the treaty of Paris, January 1, 1763, these were given up to Spain in consideration of the cession of the Floridas to Great Britain. France was, at the same time, as will be seen, left without a square mile of territory in North America. Not in all the world's history has a single treaty transferred so much of the earth's surface from one country to another. Nearly a whole continent and many isles of the sea changed ownership "at the scratch of a pen."

By the terms of this treaty Louisiana lost the canton of Illinois, the extent of which was about equal to that of the present State in which the name is preserved, and which at the time contained about two thousand white in-

habitants. Orders were given to the French officers commanding in the region thus ceded to surrender the forts therein to the British troops when they should appear to receive them. Intelligence of the cession reached Illinois in the autumn of 1763, and there was here, as in every case of a change of sovereignty, great dissatisfaction. Time must elapse before the British could come to take possession, and Nyon de Villiers, then Commandant of Illinois, did not wait for this, but left his second officer, St. Ange de Bellrive, in command, and descended the Mississippi to New Orleans.

In 1755, St. Genevieve, the oldest European town in Upper Louisiana, was founded on the west bank of the Mississippi, nearly opposite Fort Chartres, by two brothers, Francois and Jean Valle, who here found a home. Soon other settlers came, and the place was never afterward deserted. In 1763, a corporation known as the Louisiana Fur Company was formed at New Orleans, and received a charter from Governor Kerlerec, by which it was granted the exclusive right to trade with the Indians on the Missouri, and on all streams above it falling into the Mississippi. Pierre Linguiste Laclede was its chief man, and with several followers, among them two brothers, Auguste and Pierre Chouteau, he left New Orleans in the summer of this year, and after a three months'

journey in boats up the Mississippi, arrived at Fort Chartres, where he learned of the cession by France of her east Mississippi possessions to Great Britain. On the west side of that river, the sovereignty of France was, as he supposed, still supreme, and he there sought a location. This was selected sixteen miles below the mouth of the Missouri, and on the 15th of February, 1764, he sent Auguste Chouteau, with a party, to fell the forest and erect some cabins as a depot of supplies and deposit for the Louisiana Fur Company. In the autumn of the same year several town lots were laid out, and thus began the City of St. Louis, the metropolis of the Mississippi Valley. Three years thereafter Delor de Tragette founded Vide Poche—afterward Carondelet—and in 1769 Blanchette laid out St. Charles on the Missouri, the oldest European settlement in the Louisiana Purchase north of that river.

In the meantime, the British were endeavoring to obtain possession of Fort Chartres, where the French officers impatiently awaited their coming. Major Loftus, with four hundred regulars attempted to reach it from Pensacola in 1764, but was defeated by the Indians at Loftus Heights, on the Mississippi, four hundred miles from its mouth. Then Captain Pitman, with a detachment from Mobile, advanced as far as New Orleans, where he abandoned the undertaking. But Captain Sterling, dispatched

by General Gage, by way of the Great Lakes, finally reached Illinois, and to him De Bellrive surrendered Fort Chartres, which had been the seat of the French government on the Upper Mississippi for forty-five years, and with his garrison crossed the Mississippi, and on the 17th of July, 1765, unfurled the flag of France over St. Louis, which that day became the capital of Upper Louisiana.

Now more than forty years had elapsed since the massacre of Natchez, and its horrors had passed out of mind. The mismanagement of the Company of the Indies was forgotten; the name of Louisiana had ceased to be a reproach; a period of prosperity had dawned, and the banks of the Mississippi and the Missouri, Arkansas and Red Rivers were being inhabited. In 1755, the English destroyed the French settlements in Acadia, now Nova Scotia. This was one of the saddest episodes of modern history. Nearly four thousand men, women and children, stripped of all their earthly possessions, were driven on board like dumb animals, packed in the holds of English ships, and distributed along the shores of New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina. Away beyond the Mississippi still floated the flag of their beloved France, against which they had sworn, years before, never to take up arms, and many of them determined to

again live beneath its folds. Thither they made their way, some by sea, and others over Braddock's Road to the Ohio, and thence down that river and the Mississippi to New Orleans, where they met a royal welcome from their countrymen. There, in the year 1756, six hundred families arrived, and found homes on both sides of the Mississippi, from the German coast as far up as Baton Rouge, and on the west side to Point Coupee. In all, more than eight hundred Acadian families reached the banks of the Mississippi in the ten years preceding that of 1765. Then, too, the population was increased by the addition of many people from Canada who refused to live under the British flag.

For years, interest in industrial enterprises and agriculture had been increasing, and the production of cotton, the culture of which had been introduced by the Company of the Indies, received, in 1742, a mighty impulse, because of the invention of a cotton gin by M. Dubreuil, of New Orleans. This was the first gin in use in America. Now orange groves adorned the spacious grounds around the homes in the vicinity of New Orleans. In 1757, missionaries in San Domingo sent to their brethren in Louisiana some sugar canes for cultivation, together with several negroes who understood this. They began its culture on a small plantation on the

banks of the Mississippi, just above the old town of New Orleans. The following year, others cultivated the plant, and made some attempts at the manufacture of sugar. In 1758, M. Dubreuil—the same who had invented the cotton gin—established a sugar estate on a large scale, and erected the first sugar mill in the Louisiana Purchase, in what is now the lower part of the city of New Orleans. Five years later, it had become a staple product of the colony. It was the greatest gift ever made to Louisiana.

The social life, manners, and customs of the early French people of the Louisiana Purchase make an interesting study. They were remarkable for the talent of ingratiating themselves into the good graces of the warlike nations of the wilderness. “On the margin of a prairie or on the banks of some gently flowing stream, their villages sprung up in long, narrow streets, with each family homestead so contiguous that the merry and sociable villagers could carry on their voluble conversation, each from his own door or balcony. The young men delighted in the long and merry voyages, and sought new adventure in the distant travels of the fur trade. After months of absence upon the shores of the largest rivers and their longest tributaries, among their savage friends, they returned to the village with stores of furs and peltries, prepared to relate their hardy adventures, and the

thrilling incidents of their perilous voyage." Such were the scenes in the early days of St. Louis, St. Charles, St. Genevieve, Arkansas Post, Natchez, New Orleans, and every other old French town in the Louisiana Purchase.

Governor Kerlerec's administration drew to a close June 9, 1763, on which date he was succeeded by the noble and patriotic D'Abbadie, who, after nearly two years of service, died at New Orleans, on the 4th of February, 1765. His successor was M. Aubry, who continued in office until the end of Royal Government in the Louisiana Purchase, August 18, 1769, after the national government of France had expended fifty millions of francs in the Mississippi Valley.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE CEDED TO SPAIN.

As the struggle between Great Britain and France for territorial supremacy progressed, the latter witnessed the fall of her strongholds—Quebec, Montreal and others—and it became evident that she must lose her vast possessions in America. On the west side of the Mississippi she owned the Louisiana Purchase, and partly in consideration of the assistance of Spain in the war, but chiefly to prevent it from passing into the possession of Great Britain, her King, Louis XV., gave it away.

This he did secretly on the 3d of November, 1762—the date of the preliminary treaty between France and Great Britain—when his Prime Minister, the Duke of Choiseul, and the Marquis of Grinaldi, the Spanish ambassador at the Court of Versailles, signed at Fontainebleau an act by which the French King ceded to his cousin, Charles III., King of Spain, and his successors forever in full ownership and without any exceptions or reservations whatever, “and from the sense of affection and friendship existing between these two royal persons,” all that country in America under the name of Louisiana.

This action on the part of the French monarch was so unexpected and so sudden that the Spanish minister had no instructions regarding it, and he accepted the princely gift upon the condition that his action be ratified by his King. Speedily intelligence of the transaction flew to Madrid, and on the 13th of November—but ten days after the donation was made—Charles III. declared that “In order to better cement the union which existed between the two nations as between the two kings, he accepted the donation tendered him by the generosity of the French King.”

The Island of Orleans on the east side of the Mississippi, on which the city of New Orleans stands, was included in the cession to Spain, and article seven of the definitive treaty of Paris, concluded January 1, 1763—but fifty-five days after the gift of the Louisiana Purchase to Spain—ceded to Great Britain, as has been stated, all the territory owned by France on the east side of the Mississippi River, except the said Island of Orleans. It was further declared that the boundary between the possessions of the two nations, in America, should be irrevocably fixed “by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and thence by a line in the middle of that stream and of lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the sea.”

No reference whatever of the cession of Louisiana to Spain was made in the treaty, for the reason that the matter was kept secret between the two nations—France and Spain. It has been stated that Spain, in consideration of the return to her of Havana and the Philippine Islands, ceded Florida to Great Britain. Thus, as a result of the war, she lost that peninsula, but gained instead thereof the whole of the Louisiana Purchase.

These acts of donation and acceptance were kept secret, and the King of France continued to act as the sovereign of the Louisiana Purchase. On the first of January, 1763, he appointed Nicholas Chauvier de la Freniere, Attorney-General; ten days later he named the officers of the colony, and on the 29th of June ensuing, appointed M. D'Abbadie as the successor of Governor Kerlerec. Rumors of a change of sovereignty reached the shores of the Mississippi, and created the greatest dissatisfaction among the inhabitants who detested the people and government of Spain. But no official announcement of the transaction was made until April 21, 1764, when the good Governor received a communication informing him that the Court of Versailles had transferred the title of the Louisiana Purchase to the Court of Madrid, and directing him to surrender the province to the Governor or other Spanish officer who should arrive at New Orleans with

orders from the King of Spain to receive it. D'Abbadie was an ardent soldier and zealous patriot, and so deeply chagrined was he at what he considered the disgrace of his country, that his feeble health gave way, and in haggard illness he awaited alike the coming of the Spanish authorities and death. The latter came first. As before stated, he died at New Orleans, February 4, 1765, on which date he was succeeded by M. Aubry, the last Royal French Governor of the Louisiana Purchase.

Every day the people might expect a Spanish Governor and garrison to arrive, and they awaited in repugnance and anger the coming of a change which was to place over their heads masters whom they hated. They knew not why, after they had settled the country, and were loyal Frenchmen, they should be transferred to the hands of strangers. "When we came here," said they to the French King, "didst thou not engage forever to protect us with thy fleets and armies? Have we not striven to make thy name illustrious among the nations to whom it was unknown? We hoped one day to come in competition with thy rivals, and be the terror of thine enemies. But thou hast forsaken us. Thou hast bound us without our consent, by a treaty the very concealment of which was treachery. Thou hast torn us from our family to deliver us up to a master whom we did not approve. Re-

store us to him whose name we have been used to call upon from our infancy. We shall languish and perish with grief and weakness. Preserve us from connections we detest." Such were the prayer and appeal of the French inhabitants of the Louisiana Purchase to the French King, but they did not alter the arrangements between the courts of Madrid and Versailles.

The Spanish government, notwithstanding its tardiness in assuming authority, now proceeded to take possession of its new dominions. Antoine de Ulloa was appointed Governor, and his commission directed him to assume the command of Louisiana. He sailed from Cuba, and with four-score Spanish soldiers landed at New Orleans on the 5th of March, 1766. He was a man of distinction, a scholar, a historian, an astronomer, a botanist, a former superintendent of mines in Peru, a lieutenant-general in the naval forces of Spain, and founder of the naval school at Cadiz. But he was not fitted to govern the turbulent people on the banks of the Mississippi, who were then being transferred, against their will, from the sovereignty of one monarchy to that of another. According to the usual form he should have taken possession of the country at once, but this he did not do. Orders continued to come from France; M. Aubry, the French Governor, was still in command; French magistrates acted in that

capacity; and French soldiers—the four companies in New Orleans—still performed military duty under the flag of France.

These things induced the inhabitants to believe that Charles III. was but causing an examination of the country to be made. But now there came an order from Spain which prohibited the Louisianians from carrying on any trading connections with the markets in which they had hitherto sold their productions. This led them to decide that, since Ulloa had deferred till then to take possession, he should not be permitted to do it at all. In September he left New Orleans, and proceeded to the Balise in Central America, for the spirit of resistance was now rife on the banks of the great river. The revolutionary movement began on the 27th day of October, 1766, when armed men entered New Orleans, and, before Aubry knew anything of it, had control of the town. Ulloa now returned, and the French Governor, to protect him, had him placed on board a vessel anchored out in the river. A provisional government was now formed at the executive head of which was a Supreme Council. This body adopted a resolution declaring that the Spanish Governor should leave the country. The rioters hastened his departure by cutting the cable which held his vessel, and he sailed for Cuba, whence he soon thereafter went to

France. Thither, also, went representatives of the people of Louisiana. Both sides were heard, and then, on the 28th of October, 1768, the Tribunal, by a decree, directed Spain to take possession. Meantime, the Supreme Council at New Orleans assumed the colonial government, and Aubry was treated with contempt.

Ulloa did not return to New Orleans, but proceeded to Madrid, where he informed the government of existing conditions on the Mississippi, and the Spanish King went to work in earnest to build up a great southwest empire in North America. That order might be restored, and obedience yielded, he resolved to govern the colony with a strong hand, and at Aranjuez, on the 16th of April, 1768, he signed a commission for Count Alexander O'Reilly, thus making him Governor and Captain-General of the Province of Louisiana. He was an Irishman by birth who had risen to prominence in the army of Spain, his rank being that of Major-General. He was second in command in Cuba, and from there was sent to the Mississippi with a fleet of twenty-five vessels and three thousand men. He arrived at its mouth, where he hoisted the flag of Spain on the 20th of July, 1769.

The colonists, in inexpressible rage against the mother country, resolved to fight to the end, and then, if attacked by both Spain and France, they would take refuge on the

east side of the Mississippi, where they would form a republic, and claim the protection of Great Britain. But, meantime, the Supreme Council saw no alternative other than submission, and it sent three of its members—La Freniere, Grandmaison and Marent—to wait on the Spanish General and tender the submission of the province, accompanied by the request that all those who wished to leave the country, should be allowed two years in which to dispose of their property. O'Reilly received the deputation with affability, and assured the Council that he should cheerfully comply with all reasonable demands; that those who were willing to remain should enjoy a mild and paternal government. The embassy returned to New Orleans before which the Spanish fleet anchored on the 17th of August. Aubry and the French magistrates counseled peace, and the next day O'Reilly at the head of an army of twenty-six hundred men marched into the parade-ground where the French officers awaited him. The white flag of France—emblem of submission—which was waving on a high pole, was now slowly lowered, and that of Spain hoisted in its place, while the troops of both nations kept up an irregular discharge of small arms. Thus ended the French dominion on the shores of the Mississippi, where it had continued for full seventy years. That same day the inhabitants were freed from their al-

legiance to France, and, within a few days, all who chose to submit to the Castilian yoke, subscribed to the oath of allegiance to Spain.

Spanish sovereignty was now supreme in Louisiana, and only revenge remained to be taken. O'Reilly was clothed with unlimited power, and he was the possessor of a cruel and vindictive spirit. He ordered the arrest of Foucault, the Intendant of the colony; La Freniere, the Attorney-General; Noyant, his son-in-law, and Bois-blanc, the last two named having been members of the Supreme Council. A few days later, numerous other persons were arrested, among them being Marquis, Doucet, Petit, Marent, Caresse, Poupet, and the two Milhets, all of whom had been active in the late revolutionary movement.

Villiere, who had been at the head of all the most violent measures of resistance, had left New Orleans and gone to his country home, where he would have remained had not the late French Governor requested him to return, and assured him that he would not be molested. On his arrival he was at once surrounded by Spanish soldiers and carried before O'Reilly, who, hardened in cruelty as he was, felt some compunction at the thought of putting such a man to death. Villiere was accompanied by an old Swedish officer, who had fought under Charles XII. at

the battle of Pultowa, where he had received eleven wounds—all in facing the enemy. At the sight of this venerable man, whose gray hairs seemed to give sanction to the rebellion, O'Reilly flew into a violent passion, and exclaimed: "I ought to hang you also on the highest gibbet that can be found." "Do so," replied the soldier, "the rope can not disgrace this neck," and, baring his bosom he exhibited the scars of his wounds. The tyrant shrank from the sight, and the old man was released. Villiere was confined on board a Spanish vessel anchored in the stream, and one day he beheld his wife rowed by in a boat. He knew she was looking for him, and, bursting his bonds, he attacked his guards, who ran their bayonets through his body, and he expired almost instantly. His dying request, addressed to the captain of the vessel was: "That you will give these blood-stained garments to my children, and tell them that it is my last command that they never bear arms for Spain, nor against France."

Others were arraigned for trial. Foucault and Brault maintained that they owed no account of their conduct but to the King of France, whose subjects they had never ceased to be. The first was sent to Paris, and the second acquitted. The others pleaded, but in vain. Villiere was dead, and eleven more, representing "the army, the magistracy, and the trade," were selected "as examples to the

colony." Five of these were condemned to death. They were La Freniere, Noyant, Marquis, Joseph Milhet, and Caresse, who were sentenced to be hung. They plead to have recourse to royal clemency, but the only favor granted them was the substitution of shooting instead of hanging.

On the 28th of September, the day appointed for the execution, all the troops were drawn up on the Place d'Armes in the center of which had stood for many years the little mission church of St. Louis. A strong patrol paraded the deserted streets—the inhabitants having retired to their houses and shut themselves in, that they might not witness the death of their friends. The five victims were led out in front of the barracks, where all met death with the utmost courage and resolution. It was attempted to blindfold them, but Marquis, a Swiss captain, long in the service of France, indignantly opposed it. "I have," said he, "risked my life many times in the service of my adopted country, and I have never feared to face my enemies." Then addressing his companions he said, "Let us die like brave men; we need not fear death. Take notice, Spaniards, that we die because we will not cease to be French. As for myself, though a foreigner by birth, my heart belongs to France. For thirty years I have fought for Louis *le bien-aimé*, and I

glory in the death that proves my attachment to him. Fire, executioners!" Six other prisoners—Boisblanc, Doucet, Marent, Jean Milhet, Petit and Poupet—were sentenced, the first for life, and the others for a term of years, to confinement in the dungeons of Moro Castle at Havana. Such were some of the horrible scenes that attended the establishment of Spanish sovereignty in the valley of the Mississippi.

On the arrival of General O'Reilly at New Orleans, he sent Captain Rios with a body of Spanish troops to occupy St. Louis. Don Pedro Piernas, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Louisiana, soon followed, and on the 29th of November, 1770, he arrived at that place, and the same day formally received the government from St. Ange de Bellrive, who had removed it from Fort Chartres four years before, and now the sovereignty of Spain was supreme throughout the whole of the Louisiana Purchase. More than eight years had passed away since the deed of cession had been signed at Fontainebleau, and in that time, one colonial system—that of France—had expired to give place to another—that of Spain. Two nations—Great Britain and Spain—now owned the whole area of the North American continent, with the middle of the Mississippi, the Iberville, and lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain as the dividing line between their possessions.

CHAPTER IX.

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE UNDER THE SPANISH
DOMINION.

When General O'Reilly had suppressed the insurrection at New Orleans, in which town he found a population of three thousand one hundred and ninety persons, he promulgated a form of government which was proclaimed on the 25th of November, 1769. This had been prepared by Don Joseph Urrustia and Don Felix Rey, two eminent lawyers of Spain. On the 18th of February, 1770, a supplementary code was made public at New Orleans. Thus begun Spanish rule in the Louisiana Purchase, and thus the French laws were speedily supplanted by those of the Spanish code.

Under its provisions the chief officer was the Governor, whose title was Governor and Captain-General of Louisiana. He was appointed by the King, and he was the head of both the civil and military establishments of the province; hence, he was usually an officer of the army. His resident council, called the Cabildo, an hereditary body, consisted of twelve men chosen from the most wealthy and respectable families. This body governed

New Orleans by appointing its Mayor and other officials. The Intendant was an official, also appointed by the King, and he was entirely independent of the Governor. He was Chief of the Department of Finance and Commerce, and all public moneys were disbursed on his order. The Treasurer—a mere cashier—and several other officers were under his direction. Among others appointed by the King was an Auditor, who was chief adviser of the Governor, and an Assessor, who occupied a similar relation to the Intendant; a Secretary of the Governor, and another of the Intendancy; a Surveyor-General; a harbor-master, a store-keeper, and an interpreter of both the French and Spanish languages. In each parish there was an executive officer called the Commandant, who was appointed by the Governor, and who was both a police and fiscal officer. Where there was a garrison, there was also a representative of the Intendant, who had charge of the revenues of his parish. Frequently assistant or deputy commandants were appointed, and these were called syndics. There was no system of local taxation. Every inhabitant was bound to make and repair roads, bridges, and embankments through his own lands. The colonial establishment was supported by a system of licenses and duties. The former yielded about six thousand dollars a year, while the latter, chiefly produced by a six per cent

levy on all imports and exports alike, yielded about one hundred and twenty thousand dollars in the same time. It may be safely said that the Spanish government of the Louisiana Purchase was one of the best to be found in all the American colonial systems.

General O'Reilly visited a number of the parishes, ascended the Mississippi some distance above Baton Rouge, and when he had made himself somewhat acquainted with the conditions and needs of the country, he left Don Antonio Maria Bucarely as Governor *ad interim*, and sailed for Cuba. Don Luis de Unzaga arrived at New Orleans, and assumed the government August 17, 1772. Now a systematic survey of lands began to be made, and Don Pedro Piernas, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Louisiana, confirmed all of the grants made to settlers therein by St. Ange, the late French Commandant. Lands were granted to actual settlers only. These could obtain two hundred acres for each man and wife; fifty for each child; and twenty for each slave. The size of the family, therefore, determined the amount of land which a planter could secure.

In 1775, Piernas was succeeded as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Louisiana by Francisco Cruzat; the next year, Bernardo Galvez became Military Commandant at New Orleans, and upon the appointment of Unzaga as

Governor and Captain-General of Caracas, he succeeded to the Governorship of the Province, July 1, 1777. He was the most active man that ever controlled the destinies of the Louisiana Purchase. The American Revolution was then in progress, and in 1778, he was visited by Captain Willing, a confidential agent of the old Continental Congress, whom he assisted secretly with arms, ammunition and seventy thousand dollars in cash. Spain offered mediation, and when this was spurned, she declared war, June 16, 1779, against Great Britain. Galvez, already the earnest friend of the colonies, speedily organized volunteer regiments, and, with fifteen hundred men invaded West Florida—then British territory—took Fort Bulé on Manchac Pass, and captured Baton Rouge, taking Colonel Dickinson and his Sixteenth British American Regiment prisoners. In October, he was made a Major-General, and having received reinforcements from Havana, he laid siege to Mobile, which, in 1780, he compelled to surrender. Then with an army increased to fourteen thousand men, he entered East Florida, and, after defeating the British in several engagements, invested Pensacola. Here he awaited the coming of a fleet from Havana, and on May 9, 1781, the town with its whole armament and eight hundred prisoners fell into the hands of the Spaniards. Soon thereafter, the entire North Gulf coast was in pos-

session of Galvez's army, and when the war was ended, he was made Viceroy of Mexico, the highest official position in Spanish America. His successor in the Governorship of the Louisiana Purchase was Don Estevan Miro.

There is but one American revolutionary battlefield in the Louisiana Purchase. This is St. Louis. During that war, Detroit was the chief military station of the British in the Northwest. Here many expeditions against the Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky frontiers were fitted out. Here gathered the Girtys, Elliotts, McKees, and other notorious renegades of the Western border. These expeditions were usually commanded by British officers or Tories, and largely composed of warriors of allied Indian nations. The Spanish authorities, together with all the inhabitants of St. Louis earnestly sympathized with the American cause, and, fearing an attack, the people fortified the town by building a semi-circular wall of logs five feet high with three gates therein, at which cannon were planted. In anticipation of this, Sylvia Francisco Cartaboni had brought a small body of troops from St. Genevieve to assist in the defense. On the evening of May 5, 1779, an army numbering more than fourteen hundred men, composed largely of Ojibway, Menomonic, Winnebago, Sioux and Sac warriors, together with, some authorities say, a hundred and fifty British regulars, the

whole commanded by a British officer, assembled on the east bank of the Mississippi, a little above St. Louis. A few of the enemy crossed the river that night as spies, but the whole army crossed early next morning, when many of the people, not knowing of the presence of an enemy, had gone to their fields. These were attacked, and those who were not killed, rushed to the town, where the gates were opened, and they were admitted. The firing alarmed those who were within the defenses, and the cry "To arms! to arms!" was heard on every hand. The army advanced slowly toward the town. Cartaboni with his men could nowhere be seen, and Don Ferdinando Leyba, the Spanish Lieutenant-Governor, was intoxicated. But the inhabitants determined to defend themselves until the last. They chose Pierre Chouteau as their leader, and a gallant defense it was. Fifteen men were posted at each gate, and the remainder were scattered along the line of defense in the most advantageous manner. When within proper distance, the assailants opened fire. This was answered by showers of grape and canister from the artillery, and a steady rattle of musketry from behind the walls. For a time the battle was waged with much spirit, but at last the assailants perceived that all their efforts would be vain on account of walls and entrenchments, which were defended by heroic men at the gates, and they

slowly withdrew. About thirty of the inhabitants of St. Louis were killed, and an equal number who were taken in the fields carried into captivity. The loss of the attacking army was never known. Because of his conduct on this occasion, Lieutenant-Governor Leyba was soon afterwards removed from office, and Francisco Cruzat was again sent to fill the position. At this time there were two thousand people in Upper Louisiana. The succeeding year a conflagration swept away nine hundred houses in New Orleans.

In 1797, Daniel Boone, pioneer of Kentucky, after a ten years' residence in the Great Kanawha Valley in which time he had represented Kanawha county in the Legislature of Virginia, bade adieu to his friends in the then little trans-Allegheny town of Charleston—now the capital of West Virginia—and removed west of the Mississippi, where he found a home on the banks of the Missouri, about twenty-five miles above St. Charles, and there became a citizen of Spain. On the 11th of June, 1800, De Lassus, the Lieutenant-Governor, appointed him a syndic, or assistant commandant, for the Femme-Osage district. Here he continued to reside until the 26th of September, 1820, when he died at the home of his son, Major Nathan Boone, when in the eighty-ninth year of his age. In 1840, his remains were removed to Frankfort, Kentucky, where they were reinterred with civic and military honors.

The emigration from Spain was never large, and the population increased but slowly. But under the Spanish rule the trade of the Louisiana Purchase was greatly enlarged. In the year 1799 there were 2,000 bales of cotton, each of 300 pounds; 45,000 casks of sugar of 1,000 pounds each; and 800 casks of molasses of 100 gallons each, among the exports from New Orleans. In addition to these, there were large quantities of indigo, peltry, lumber, corn and lead. So extensive, indeed, was this trade, that for the years 1800, 1801, and 1802, the total exports amounted to \$2,158,000, while the imports for the same years aggregated \$2,500,000. We may learn more fully of this trade and navigation, when it is known that in the year 1802, 268 vessels of all description entered the Mississippi; and of these, 170 were American, 97 Spanish and one French. For the same year, 265 vessels sailed from the Mississippi. Of this number, 158 were American, 104 Spanish, and 3 French. For the first six months of the year 1803, 173 vessels entered the river. Of these, 93 were American, 58 Spanish, and 22 French. For the same period of six months, 156 vessels departed from its mouth. Of these, 68 were American, 80 Spanish, and 8 French. Thus was New Orleans the distributing point for all articles of foreign growth or manufacture which were used on the Mississippi, the Missouri, and the Ohio

and their tributaries, and through that port went almost the whole export trade of the entire Mississippi Valley. The only exception to this was that of a small quantity of fine furs, and the best bear and deer skins, which were shipped to Canada, where they commanded a better price.

In 1799, De Lassus caused a census of Upper Louisiana to be taken, and by this the population of its towns and villages was shown to be as follows: St. Louis, on the west bank of the Mississippi, sixteen miles below the mouth of the Missouri, had 925 people; Carondelet, on the Mississippi, six miles below St. Louis, 184; St. Charles, on the Missouri, twenty-five miles from its mouth, and eighteen by land from St. Louis, 895; St. Fernando, in a little valley leading from St. Louis to St. Charles, 276; Marias des Lairds, three miles west of St. Fernando, and distant twelve miles from St. Louis, 379; Meramec, on the river of that name, 115; St. Andrews, on the Missouri, fifteen miles above St. Charles, 393; St. Genevieve, on the west bank of the Mississippi, opposite Kaskaskia, 949; New Bourbon on the Mississippi, three miles below St. Genevieve, 560; Cape Girardeau, on the west bank of the Mississippi, forty-one miles above the mouth of the Ohio, 521; New Madrid, on the Mississippi, eighty-four miles below the mouth of the Ohio, 782; and Little Meadow, on the Mississippi, thirty-five miles below

New Madrid, 49. The total population of these towns was 6,028, of which 4,748 were white, 197 free colored, and 883 slaves. These people of Upper Louisiana must have been busy, for it was shown to Congress that in this year they produced 88,349 bushels of wheat; 84,534 bushels of corn; 28,000 pounds of tobacco; 965 bushels of salt; and 170,000 pounds of lead. They had 7,980 horned cattle, and 1,763 horses. The same year they exported through the port of New Orleans, produce valued at \$73,176. Such was Upper Louisiana at the close of the Eighteenth century.

There was but little domestic manufacturing during the Spanish occupation. The Acadians made some cotton into quilts and cottonades; and in some other parts of the province, the families of the planters spun and wove some coarse cloths of cotton and wool mixed. There were, in the Louisiana Purchase, two cotton spinning machines at that time, one of which was in Iberville parish, and the other in that of Opelousas. In New Orleans there were manufactures of rope and cordage, and shot and powder, and one sugar refinery making annually two hundred thousand pounds.

Spain did but little—almost nothing, in fact—for education in the Louisiana Purchase. There was one free school in New Orleans, the teachers of which were paid

by the king, their business being to teach the Castilian language to the children of French parents. A similar school was maintained at Natchez, but the work done was not so extensive, there being but two teachers employed.

Now, for the first time the Louisiana Purchase began to be a subject of great importance in American affairs, and henceforth it was to occupy a prominent place in the history of the United States—indeed in that of the world. Spain was displeased with the treaty of Paris in 1783 which terminated the war of the American Revolution, because it extended the western bounds of the Republic to the Mississippi, and made the middle of that river, from its source to the thirty-first degree of north latitude, the dividing line between the two nations—the United States and Spain. It will be remembered that below this degree the latter nation, at this time, owned both sides of the Mississippi, and thus had absolute control of the navigation of that river for full three hundred and fifty miles of its lower course. This meant that both the exports and imports of the whole vast region drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries must be subject to duties at the Spanish port of New Orleans.

The American authorities, urged to action by the men who were planting civilization, and founding States on the west side of the Alleghenies, and whose trade was subject

to these duties, sought to secure a treaty with Spain, honorable alike to both nations, by which the free navigation of the Mississippi might be secured for a commerce on which the Spanish authorities were then imposing a duty of six per cent *ad valorem* on all exports as well as imports. But Don Diego Garderoqui, the Spanish minister to the United States, declared that his King would never permit to any nation the free use of the Mississippi, both banks of which belonged to Spain. To this he added that his King would not consent to any treaty implying the right of the United States to the navigation of that river.

John Jay, afterwards Chief Justice of the United States, who had been engaged in this negotiation, now suggested to the old Congress of the Confederation, that he thought it would be good policy, and, therefore expedient, to conclude a treaty with Spain limited to twenty or thirty years, in which it should be stipulated that for the time the United States would forbear to navigate the Mississippi below the thirty-first degree of north latitude. But this was rejected by Congress, the seven Southern States voting in the negative, while the six Northern states voted affirmatively. Following this, that body, in 1788, resolved "That the free navigation of the Mississippi is a clear and essential right of the United States, and that the

same ought to be supported as such." At the same time, the cry of these Western people was that no treaty should ever be concluded with Spain that did not secure to the United States the free navigation of that river from its source to the ocean.

Meantime, in 1793, war between France and Spain began, and Charles Edward Genest, the Minister of the French Republic to the United States, arrived at Philadelphia, where he was received with great enthusiasm by the citizens who presented him with an address congratulating France on obtaining that freedom she had helped the American colonies to secure. He maintained that the United States was in duty bound to aid his country in her war, and, notwithstanding President Washington's recently issued proclamation of neutrality, he planned a hostile expedition against Louisiana. There was violent opposition to Spain in the West, because of her restrictions to navigation on the Mississippi, and Genest, resolving to profit by this, sent four French agents among the people of the western country to enlist an army of two thousand men who, under the banners of France, would invade Louisiana, conquer the Spanish settlements, and bring them under the control of his country. In consideration of this service, the navigation of the Mississippi was to be forever free to the Americans, and, in addition

thereto, there were to be French pay, French rank, and magnificent grants of land in the conquered territory, for all who would help to win it from Spain. The plan met with the warmest approval in many sections, but the Spanish minister to the United States informed Washington of the movement, and he issued orders to General Wayne, who was then mustering his cavalry in Kentucky, preparatory to his campaign against the western Indians in 1794, to hasten his artillery to Fort Massac in Illinois, below Louisville, and there take all possible steps to prevent this rash expedition. At this juncture, news was received of the recall of Genest by the French Government, together with a disavowal of his acts. Thus ended the movement which he was inaugurating. .

Commercial conditions were not improved on the Mississippi. Again an effort was made to treat with Spain, and, at length, early in 1795, that country signified a willingness to enter into a treaty of friendship and navigation with the United States. Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina, was at that time United States Minister at London, and President Washington directed him to hasten to Madrid. This he did, arriving there about the first of June. There he met the Spanish Commissioner, Prince de la Paz, and what is known as the treaty of San Lorenzo was concluded and ratified by the King at Aran-

juez, April 26, 1796. It acknowledged the southern boundary of the United States to be the thirty-first degree of north latitude, and on the western boundary the middle of the Mississippi as far down as the said degree. Then the twenty-second article read as follows:

“His Catholic Majesty will permit the citizens of the United States for the space of three years from this time, to deposit their merchandise and effects in the port of New Orleans, and to export them from thence without paying any other duty than a fair price for the hire of the stores; and his Majesty promises either to continue this provision, if he finds during that time that it is not prejudicial to the interests of Spain, or, if he should not agree to continue it, then he will assign to them, on another part of the banks of the Mississippi, an equivalent establishment.”

Thus at last, after ten years of worry and vexation with Spain, that for which the people of the trans-Allegheny region had clamored so earnestly—the free navigation of the Mississippi through its whole course—was secured; and, in addition thereto, another most important concession—that of the free deposit of merchandise at New Orleans for three years, and if not continued there, at the end of that time to be established at some other point on the banks of the Mississippi, within the Spanish dominion—was gained.

Now, all went well. Population increased rapidly west of the Alleghenies. Kentucky grew in importance; Tennessee was admitted into the Union; thousands of people found homes in the old Northwest Territory west of the Ohio, and in the Illinois Country, even to the banks of the Mississippi. Territories were organized, Pittsburg became the gateway of the West, and Marietta, Chillicothe, Louisville, Lexington, Vincennes and other towns sprung up rapidly; and, as we have already seen, commerce increased to large proportions on the Mississippi, where twice as much of it belonged to the United States as was in the hands of both France and Spain.

But now there was intrigue on the part of the Spanish authorities. Baron de Carondelet, who had succeeded Don Estevan Miro as Governor of Louisiana, having learned of the late enterprise of Genest, now sought to add the trans-Allegheny country to the domain of Spain, or to secure the establishment of an independent government therein. In an effort to do this, he, in 1797, but two years after the treaty of San Lorenzo—sent his secret agent, Thomas Powers, to Kentucky, where he submitted to prominent men—Sebastian, Innis, Murray and others—a plan by which the western country was to rebel and declare its independence of the American Union, and then form a government wholly independent of the United

States. To aid in this, two hundred thousand dollars, twenty pieces of artillery, and other munitions of war were to be supplied by the King of Spain. Fort Massac, on the Illinois side of the Ohio River, was to be occupied, and the Federal troops dispossessed of the posts upon the western waters. In the event of their success in thus establishing a new government, Spain was to grant especial privileges—among them the free navigation of the Mississippi—and as an inducement to encourage this movement, it was intimated that she would not comply with the treaty of 1795, as to the United States, but would make every concession to the new trans-Allegheny government. But the Kentuckians were loyal to the American Union, and gold and the promise of future preferment could not buy them.

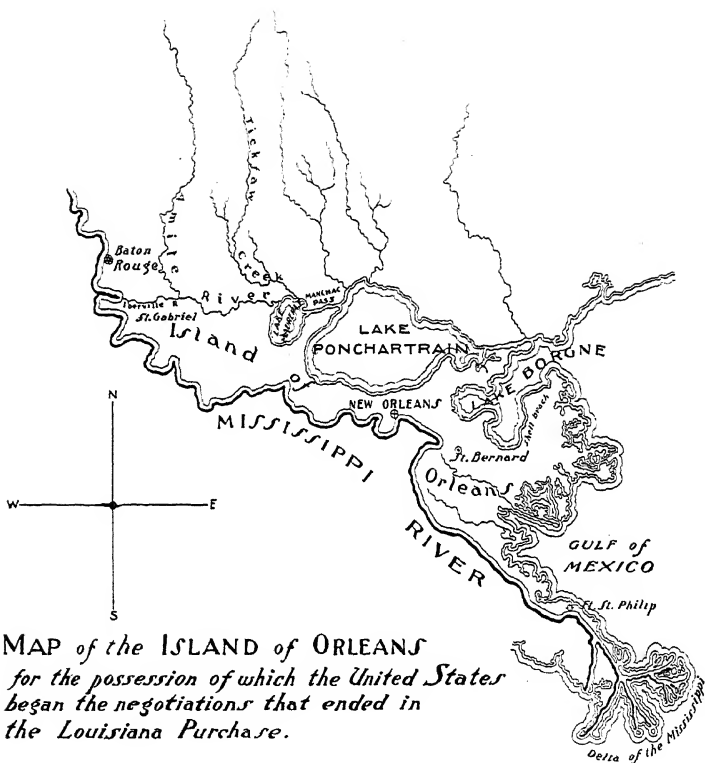
But there were abuses of the rights of navigation, probably, on the part of all three nations, and the Spanish authorities, under various pretexts, seized and confiscated American vessels and their cargoes. This produced much dissension, but the climax was reached on the 18th of October, 1802, when Jean Ventura Morales, the Spanish Intendant at New Orleans, believing, as he said, that the right accorded the Americans on the Mississippi had ceased under the provisions of the Peace of Amiens, concluded on the 27th of the preceding March, discontinued

the right of deposit at that port. This he did by a "decree," declaring that: "I order that from this date the privilege which the Americans had of importing and exporting their merchandise and effects, in this capital, shall be interdicted." William E. Hulings, the Vice-Consul of the United States, at New Orleans at this time, transmitted a copy of the "decree," the same day it was issued, to James Madison, Secretary of State. William C. C. Claiborne, Governor of Mississippi Territory, wrote President Jefferson from Natchez, under date of October 28, 1802, and said of this act: "It has excited considerable agitation at Natchez and vicinity. It has inflicted severe wounds on the agricultural and commercial interests of this territory, and it will prove no less injurious to all the western country." James Garrard, Governor of Kentucky, writing President Jefferson under date of November 3, 1802. informed him that: "The citizens of this State are very much alarmed and agitated, as this measure of the Spanish government will, if not altered, at one blow, cut up the present and future prosperity and interests by the roots." On the 28th of the same month, Claiborne wrote Manuel de Salcedo, the Spanish Governor-General at New Orleans, calling his attention to the violation of the provisions of the treaty, and in most forcible terms denounced and remonstrated against the act of

the Intendant. To this Salcedo replied by saying that the King of Spain "has not hitherto issued any order for suspending the deposit, and consequently has not designated any other position on the banks of the Mississippi for that purpose. * * * I, myself, opposed on my part, as far as I reasonably could the measure of suspending the port." Then, he added, and that truthfully, too, that "the Intendant conducts the business of his ministry with a perfect independence of the Governor." He closed his letter by expressing the hope that his King "will take the measures that are convenient to give effect to the deposit, either in this capital, if he should not find it prejudicial to the interests of Spain, or in the place on the banks of the Mississippi, which it may be his pleasure to designate." Meantime, excitement spread throughout the Mississippi Valley, and on the 27th of November, James Madison, Secretary of State, wrote Charles Pinckney, the American Minister at Madrid, and said: "You are aware of the sensibility of our western citizens on such occasions. The Mississippi is to them everything. * * * The Hudson, the Delaware, and all the navigable rivers of the Atlantic States formed into one stream." The Secretary was right in this, for as the intelligence of this act spread throughout the east Mississippi region, there was, from the banks of that river to the crest of the Alleghenies, the

greatest excitement and indignation. Mass meetings were held at Pittsburg, Lexington, and other places, and throughout the whole western country the public mind was thrown into a fever of excitement, and the entire region was blown into a flame ready to burst forth in war. There, thousands of men, all inured to hardships and border wars, and many of them veterans of the Revolution, declared their intention to invade Spanish Louisiana.

It was not the western country alone that was disaffected, for there was great indignation throughout the whole United States, and while the excitement was at its highest pitch, Congress convened. A few days later, Claiborne wrote Madison from Natchez and said: "The port of New Orleans remains shut against the American deposit. American produce is permitted to be received by vessels lying in the middle of the stream, but the landing of produce is unconditionally forbidden." President Jefferson transmitted this letter to Congress on the 11th of January, 1803, accompanied by a special message, in which he said: "The late suspension of our right of deposit at New Orleans is an event of primary interest to the United States." At once there was much agitation in that body, and a vigorous effort was made in the Senate to authorize the President to take immediate possession by



force of the Island of Orleans,* and a proposition was made to the end that fifty thousand troops occupy and hold New Orleans, and this carried with it an appropriation of fifteen millions of dollars to aid in the expense of a war with Spain. But now the power and dominion of that country was nearing its end. There was to be another change of sovereignty in the Louisiana Purchase, where Spanish rule had continued thirty-four years in Lower Louisiana and thirty-three in Upper Louisiana. It was not until April 20, 1803, that the Marquis D'Yrujo, the Spanish Minister at Washington, informed Madison that his Government had ordered the re-establishment of the American right of deposit at New Orleans, and it was then too late to mitigate the losses caused by the violation of the treaty provisions between the two countries by the Intendant at that place.

*That long, narrow strip of land on which is situated the city of New Orleans is known as the "Island of Orleans." To it many references are to be made in the Story of the Louisiana Purchase. It is bounded on the south and west by the Mississippi. On the north is the Iberville River, fifteen miles below Baton Rouge, and the most eastern outlet of the Mississippi; its waters unite with the Amite river, and then, after flowing forty miles, empty into Lake Maurepas. The Iberville is navigable only a few months in the year, and, indeed, it is dry a portion of the time. The eastern boundary of the island is formed by Lake Maurepas, twelve miles in length, eight in breadth and twenty north of New Orleans; by Manchac Pass, nine miles long, which connects the last mentioned lake with Lake Pontchartrain, which is forty miles in length and twenty-five in breadth; and by the Passes of the Rigolets, which unite Lake Pontchartrain with the gulf. This island is, by the winding course of the Mississippi, two hundred and thirty miles in length and from three to fifty in breadth. On it are the parishes of St. Bernard and New Orleans, with portions of those of Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. Charles, St. John the Baptist, St. James, Ascension and Iberville. We shall see with what interest the United States authorities were afterward to regard the Island of Orleans.

CHAPTER X.

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE RETROCEDED TO FRANCE.

In the autumn of 1802, while the indignation of the American people, caused by the closing of the port of New Orleans by the Spanish authorities, was at its greatest height, intelligence of the retrocession of the Louisiana Purchase by Spain to France was received, and only intensified it. For awhile there was doubt as to the truthfulness of this report, but it was speedily confirmed, and it was learned that what is known as the treaty of St. Ildefonso between Spain and France had been concluded secretly on the first day of October, 1800. In article three of this document, it was declared that "His Catholic Majesty promises and engages on his part to cede to the French Republic, six months after the full and entire execution of the conditions and stipulations herein relative to His Royal Highness, the Duke of Parma, the colony or Province of Louisiana, with the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it."

It appears that the only consideration required on the part of France was that of a compliance with the "condi-

tions and stipulations" relative to the Duke of Parma. These must be met before France could come into full possession of that vast region over which she was now to extend her sovereignty for a second time. Let us see what they were.

The Grand Duchy of Parma with its two principal cities, Parma and Placentia—the first its capital, and both having universities—lay on the Lombard Plain in North Italy, within view of the Alps, and sheltered on the south by the Apennines. It was sixty miles long and fifty broad, and had an area of three thousand square miles. It was a land of rich pastures, corn and fruits, with deposits of copper and silver. Its theater was the most famous in Europe. Its revenues amounted to forty millions of francs annually. By the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, the title to it was confirmed to the Bourbon family of Spain.

South of the Apennines, and bordering on the Tuscan sea, in western Italy, lay the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, with its more than nine thousand square miles of surface, the extent and boundaries of which were nearly identical with those of the ancient Kingdom of Etruria, which was the cradle of the Etruscan race, and where dwelt a people before the founding of Rome. From its mountains flowed down to the sea the historic Tiber and Arno, and other

streams celebrated in Italian song and story. It was a land of wine, oil, figs and oranges, teeming with herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, and there were manufactured silks and velvets—the richest in the world. Within its bounds were several cities, among them Leghorn, Pisa, and Florence, the last named the Athens of modern Italy. Its revenues* amounted to a hundred millions of francs annually.

Napoleon, then engaged in his “continental consolidation scheme,” desired to possess the Grand Duchy of Parma, that he might annex it to his Cisalpine Republic of northern Italy. His army had already entered it, but Spain was his ally, and he could not, therefore, claim it because of a military occupation. He must secure the title to it by treaty stipulations, and he accordingly sent General Alexandre Berthier to Madrid to ascertain upon what terms it could be acquired. But a short time previously the French army had taken possession of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. Spain saw the westward advance of civilization in America encroaching on the Mississippi, and she regarded the Louisiana Purchase as the key to Mexico, which she then held under the name of New

*These revenues were derived from one-tenth of the yearly value of every house; the tenth of all estates that were sold; the ground rents of the houses in Leghorn and other cities; eight per cent out of the portion of all women when they married; five sous a head on all cattle when sold; and almost a general excise of all provisions.

Spain. If she could put France in possession of it once more, it would prove a barrier for the protection of Mexico. Ferdinand, a brother-in-law to the King of Spain, and to the Emperor of Germany, was now the Grand Duke of Parma. After considerable negotiation and diplomacy, an agreement was reached by which the Duke was to surrender all his rights, titles and claims to Parma, with its revenues of forty millions of francs annually to the French Republic, and Spain was to retrocede the whole of the Louisiana Purchase to France. In consideration of these concessions, France was to secure, deliver, and confirm to the Duke of Parma, the rights, titles, and revenues—the last amounting to a hundred millions of francs annually—of Tuscany, and to put him in possession thereof, with the title of Prince of Tuscany and King of Etruria, and to obtain for him the honors of royalty. Upon this agreement was based the treaty of St. Ildefonso, which, as before stated, was concluded on the first day of October, 1800.

When France had complied with these "conditions and stipulations," then would Spain, within six months, surrender Louisiana to her. Napoleon made haste, and just one hundred days thereafter secured, by the fifth article of the treaty of Luneville, concluded on the 9th of February, 1801, at the old town of that name which stood amid

the meadows beyond the little Moselle river in eastern France, the provisions that the "Grand Duchy of Tuscany shall be given up, and the same shall be possessed in full sovereignty by His Highness the Infant Duke of Parma." Ferdinand had died but a few weeks before, and his titles and rights had descended to his infant heir, Luis, upon whom Tuscany was thus bestowed.

Napoleon now dispatched his brother, Lucien Bonaparte, post haste to Spain, where he negotiated the treaty of Madrid, concluded March 21, 1801—just forty days after that of Luneville—by which the provisions of the treaty of St. Ildefonso were confirmed. But now a complication arose. It was discovered at Paris that Ferdinand had died without assigning to the French Republic his rights and titles to the Grand Duchy of Parma. A special ambassador was at once dispatched to Madrid, where, on his arrival, Spain, by an act of the Crown, speedily made valid the French title to the estates of Parma. By these transactions, France acquired an indisputable title to the Louisiana Purchase. It has been seen that France exchanged Tuscany, with its revenues of a hundred millions of francs annually, for Parma with its revenues of forty millions of francs yearly, and the Louisiana Purchase. The value of the latter was therefore estimated at sixty millions of francs. But no official announcement was made for nearly a year afterward.

In July, 1802, orders from the Spanish King came over-sea to the Marquis of Cassa Calvo, at New Orleans, late the Governor *ad interim*, to surrender the province to the French Republic whenever a Commissioner should arrive to receive it. But now, France was almost as tardy in taking possession of the province as Spain had been a third of a century before. It was not until the spring of 1803 that Peter Clements Laussat, representing the French Republic, arrived at New Orleans, where, after considerable delay, the Spanish Commissioner, together with Manuel de Salcedo, on the 30th of November, 1803, presented to Laussat the keys of the City of New Orleans, and by this form surrendered into his hands the Louisiana Purchase. There were no French soldiers, but the citizens fired cannon, and amid rounds of cheers the Spanish flag was hauled down, and that of France was run up. Then, Laussat issued a proclamation, informing the people that they were again under the government of France, and there was great rejoicing on the banks of the Mississippi.

CHAPTER XI.

THE UNITED STATES ENDEAVORING TO SECURE CONTROL
OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

Our story has progressed until we now approach one of the most important events—the purchase of Louisiana—an account of which is recorded in the whole history of America. Our best sources of information regarding it are to be found in the diplomatic correspondence of the United States for the years 1801 to 1803, inclusive, but before examining these, let inquiry be made regarding the men whose names are prominently connected with the history of that transaction.

On the 4th day of March, 1801, a new administration of the United States Government began. Thomas Jefferson then became President. He was born in Virginia in 1743; studied at William and Mary College; was a member of the committee to draft the Declaration of Independence, and was the author of that document, as he was, also, of the statute providing for religious freedom in Virginia; was a Governor of that State; a Minister to France in 1785; Secretary of State under Washington; Vice-President during the administration of John Adams, and elected to the Presidency in 1800.



Rufus King

He carefully watched the trend of affairs in Great Britain while the negotiations for the Louisiana Purchase were in progress at Paris.

James Madison, whom Jefferson made his Secretary of State, was born in Virginia; was graduated from Princeton College, where he was distinguished for his knowledge of the Hebrew language; was a member of the Executive Council of his native State; a member of the Continental Congress, and of the convention in Philadelphia in 1787 which framed the Federal Constitution; and a member of the national Congress when he entered the cabinet of Jefferson, in which he remained until he was himself elected to the Presidency.

President Jefferson named Rufus King as Minister to Great Britain. He was born in that part of Massachusetts now included in the State of Maine; was graduated from Harvard College in 1777; served in the Revolutionary War as aide to General Sullivan; was a member of the Continental Congress in 1784; a member of the convention that framed the Federal Constitution, and one of the signers of that document; removed to New York in 1788, and the next year was elected a Senator in Congress. He was appointed Minister to Great Britain by Washington, and served in that capacity throughout the administration of John Adams, and through five years of that of Jefferson. As a diplomatist and political writer he displayed great ability.

Charles Pinckney was a man worthy of the confidence of the American people. He was born in Charleston,

South Carolina; received a good education; entered the Revolutionary Army when but a boy, and was for a time held a prisoner at San Augustine, Florida; was a member of the State Legislature; a member of the convention which framed the Federal Constitution, in 1787, and President of the convention of South Carolina which ratified it. He was a representative of a family of patriots, ever active in the service of his country at home, and Jefferson appointed him Minister to Spain, that he might worthily represent it abroad.

Robert R. Livingston was appointed Minister to France; he was born in New York; was graduated from Kings College; was a member of the Continental Congress; one of the committee to draft the Declaration of Independence; and in 1781, was made Secretary of Foreign Affairs under the old Confederation. He was wealthy, and a representative of a distinguished family; a man of the world, possessed of social tact and business ability; was remarkably well informed, and broad and liberal in his views; and on all classes of subjects displayed uncommon intelligence.

There was another distinguished American whose name was later to be connected with the story of the purchase of Louisiana. This was James Monroe, of Virginia. He was educated at William and Mary College; enlisted in

the Continental army, in which he displayed great bravery. He was Military Commissioner of Virginia, a member of the Continental Congress, and a member of the convention, at Richmond, which ratified the Federal Constitution; a United States Senator; Minister to France in 1794; a Governor of Virginia, and in the years which were to come, was to serve two terms as President of the United States.

In France, there had been ten years of the most remarkable history which it has been the lot of any nation—ancient or modern—to make. There a king had been beheaded; a revolution, without a parallel in the annals of the world, had swept away a monarchy and established on its ruins a republic, governed at first by a Directory which had been overthrown to give place to a Consulate of three members, of which Napoleon Bonaparte, the “Corporal of Corsica,” and the conqueror of Europe, was at the head, with the title of First Consul. There was, at this time in Europe, temporary peace, and he gave his attention to internal reforms. Order was everywhere seen, and he restored whatever was good and valuable of the old institutions which the tempest of revolution had not swept away. He reformed the judiciary, and in these three years caused to be prepared the famous code which still bears his name, and which is still the basis of law in

some European countries. He had called into his ministry or cabinet the wisest men in all departments of knowledge, and who were the first statesmen of France.

Of these, Charles Maurice Talleyrand was the Minister of Exterior Relations. He was born in 1754, his father being an officer in the army of Louis XV., and his mother a member of the royal household of Versailles. He was educated at the Academy of St. Sulpice, where he distinguished himself as a student; became a member of the States-General; Minister of Louis XVI. to the Court of St. James; traveled in the United States in 1794, bringing with him a letter of introduction from Lord Lansdowne to President Washington; participated in the French Revolution, and was one of the most progressive and thoughtful statesmen that France ever produced. Under the rule of the Directory he was Minister of Foreign Affairs, and was continued in the same office by the First Consul, but under another title.

Another member of the French ministry was Francois Barbe de Marbois, who as a young man had been Secretary of Legation at Philadelphia in the last years of the American Revolution, and, later, *charge d'affaires*. He wedded a daughter of Governor Moore, of Pennsylvania. Afterwards he located the French consulates in the United States in which he spent more than ten years. In

this time he compiled for publication Jefferson's "Notes on Virginia," the first edition of which was published in Paris. He was at this time the Minister of the Treasury, and an ardent friend of America.

Still another name was prominent in the ministry of the French Republic. It was that of General Alexandre Berthier, who had served as a captain and topographical engineer under La Fayette and Rochambeau in the American Revolution. He commanded the French army that in 1799 overran Italy, and occupied the city of Rome, and the next year negotiated and signed the treaty of Ildefonso, thus securing to France the title to the Louisiana Purchase, and now became Napoleon's Minister of War.

King Charles IV. was then on the throne of Spain; his Queen was Maria Louisa of Parma; his Prime Minister was Emanuel Godoy; Chevalier J. Nicholay D'Azura was his Minister at Paris, and M. Casa Yrujo, in a similar capacity, represented the Court of Spain at Washington City.

George III. was King of Great Britain, and Lord Hawkesbury was his Secretary of Foreign Affairs.

Such, in brief, were the men who made the diplomatic history of the Louisiana Purchase.

On the 29th of March, 1801—twenty-five days after the administration of Jefferson began—Rufus King

wrote from London the first intimation that the United States Government received of the retrocession of the Louisiana Purchase by Spain to France. This intelligence had created excitement in London, where the British authorities beheld, in the rise of the French power in America, the conquest of their Canadian possessions wrested from France nearly forty years before. Now it caused alarm in the United States where the people saw in this, a menace to western settlement, to commerce and the navigation of the Mississippi, the latter most important interest, not only of the people on the west side of the Alleghenies, but of the future prosperity of the nation. This caused the Americans to look to the southward for an outlet to the sea, either by the Iberville River and Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, or by way of the Tombigbee and Mobile Rivers. But this meant the ownership of West Florida, or rather, of both Floridas,*

*Florida when first defined was of much greater extent than the State now bearing that name. Then it extended from the gulf northward to the 31st degree of latitude, and from the Atlantic on the east to Lakes Pontchartrain and Maurepas, and above the Iberville River, to the Mississippi on the west. It thus contained what is now eastern Louisiana and the southern parts of Mississippi and Alabama below the said parallel. For two centuries Florida with this extent belonged to Spain, and as early as 1719 that nation recognized the region as being divided into two parts by the Perdido River, which now forms the boundary between the States of Alabama and Florida. In 1763 Spain ceded the entire region to Great Britain in consideration of the return of Cuba, which the British had conquered the preceding year. Now Florida was divided in two provinces—East and West Florida—the former east of the Perdido River and identical with the present State, and the latter west of the Perdido, and, as stated, extending westward to Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain and to the Mississippi above the Iberville. Now they were spoken of

which it was believed, had now been ceded to France. If these could not be secured, then, would the French Republic sell the Island of Orleans on which stands the city of New Orleans? For two years the United States and France had been engaged in a war on the ocean, but this had been terminated by a treaty concluded at Paris on the 30th of September, 1800, articles two and five of which left the matter of debts due by either nation to the citizens of the other, for future adjustment, but those to whom they were due were authorized to prosecute such claims. In these two years, French privateers had captured and destroyed a vast volume of American commerce, and already the United States was urging the claims of its citizens for payment. These were known as the French "spoliation claims." Now, would France cede the Island of Orleans and the Floridas—if she possessed them—in payment of these claims?

as the FLORIDAS. Both were given colonial forms of government and some Carolinians removed thither, and about fifteen hundred Greeks, Minorcans and Italians were brought over as colonists from the Mediterranean. But when the Revolution began, the inhabitants of these provinces were so few that they did not unite with the Thirteen Colonies in their struggle for independence. In 1781 West Florida was conquered by an army from the Louisiana Purchase under Galvez, the Spanish Governor and Captain-General, and in 1783, Great Britain, after holding them for twenty years, retroceded both to Spain in exchange for the Bahama Islands. Now came a period of decadence and many of the inhabitants left the country. In the negotiations leading up to the purchase of Louisiana the Floridas played an important part, the French asserting that they were included in the Louisiana cession, the Spaniards denying this, and the Americans endeavoring to secure them from either nation.

Would she sell them? Or, would she sell the Island of Orleans, and thus give to the United States absolute control of the Mississippi? Answers to these questions now became the subject of negotiation. The thought of purchasing the control of the Mississippi was not new. It originated with Benjamin Franklin, who while in Paris wrote John Jay in 1780—more than twenty years before—and said: "Poor as we are, yet, I know we shall be rich; and I would rather agree with the Spaniards [then the owners] to buy at a great price the whole of their right in the Mississippi than to sell a drop of its waters." Thus, with almost prophetic vision the old philosopher then saw that which it would be necessary to do in the future.

On the first of June, 1801, Lord Hawkesbury, in London, while talking to Rufus King, introduced the subject of the retrocession of Louisiana—the first time it had been mentioned at court—and asked him what he thought of it. King, who believed it dangerous to the interests of both their respective countries, but preferred not to commit himself, replied by quoting the famous saying of Montesquieu, "That it is happy for trading nations that God has permitted Turks and Spaniards to be in the world, since of all nations they are the most proper to possess a great empire with insignificance." On the

20th of November ensuing, King sent from London to Madison the first copy of the treaty of St. Ildefonso that reached the United States. From this it was learned that Spain's compensation for the Louisiana Purchase together with the Duchy of Parma, was the cession by France of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany.

Robert R. Livingston was given his commission and letters of credence on the 28th of September, 1801, and having received his instructions from Secretary Madison, "to make inquiry regarding the Spanish cession of Louisiana," he sailed for France in the frigate "Boston," bound for the Mediterranean Sea, which landed him at Bordeaux, and then continued her voyage, while he proceeded to Paris. He was an ardent advocate of freedom, and he knew that nothing short of the change that had taken place could have lessened the calamities of France, and he assured the ministers of the French Republic that he meant to have no intrigues with its enemies. In consequence of this, he soon acquired a degree of favor at Court, such, indeed, as the ministers of other nations did not have accorded them. And, as a rule, they answered his correspondence politely if not satisfactorily. He was, therefore, soon a favorite with the First Consul, and with the more liberal and intelligent of the statesmen who surrounded him. They had assisted in freeing a people

from a monarchy; so had he. On his arrival, "I found," said he, "the credit and character of our nation very low. Our people were considered as interested speculators whose god was money." He was, at once, about the business before him, and on the 10th of December he wrote Madison, saying, "This Parma business is settled," meaning that the retrocession of the Louisiana Purchase had actually taken place. The next day when one of the ministers of the French Republic spoke in his presence of the lack of means to pay the public debts, he suggested to him the sale of the Island of Orleans to the United States. To this the minister replied promptly by saying, "None but spendthrifts satisfy their debts by selling their lands." This is the first reference to be found in the diplomatic correspondence between the two nations relating to the sale of any part of the Louisiana Purchase. Meantime, as the days passed away, Livingston was urging upon the ministers the payment of debts due American citizens, and Fulwar Skipwith, the United States Consul at Paris, was equally importunate in the matter of pressing these claims.

Madison now requested Livingston to bring the matter of the cession of the Island of Orleans and West Florida to the United States directly to the attention of the French authorities. This he did on the 2d of Febru-

ary, 1802, when he wrote Charles M. Talleyrand, and desired to know "if it would be practicable to make such arrangements between the two nations as would, at the same time, aid the financial obligations of France, and remove by a strong natural boundary all further causes of discontent between her and the United States." By this he meant the cession of the Island of Orleans to the United States when the Mississippi would become the "strong natural boundary" between the two nations. To this communication no reply was ever made.

On the 5th of February, 1802, King wrote Madison from London saying that he had information that, in compliance with the wish of Napoleon, France would proceed speedily to colonize Louisiana. This report was confirmed in a letter written the next day by Livingston to Madison, saying, "Statesmen here say that the settlement of Louisiana will occasion a great waste of men and money. But," he adds, "Napoleon is much attached to the scheme, and it must be supported. * * * General Bernadotte is designed for the command of the Louisiana expedition, and he has asked for ten thousand men." It was true that Napoleon was determined to occupy and colonize Louisiana. He beheld in it a new Egypt, and saw in it a colonial establishment that should counterbalance the eastern establishment of Great Britain.

He saw in it a position for his generals, and, what was more important in the state of things then existing, he saw in it a place for the ostracism of suspected enemies. Only a few days before this, Barbe Marbois, the Minister of the Treasury, had remarked to Livingston that the French Republic considered its newly acquired possessions an excellent "outlet for its turbulent spirits."

This information intensified interest in the United States, for it was the policy of the American government to discourage, if possible, the occupation and colonization of Louisiana. On the 18th of April, 1802, President Jefferson, writing Livingston in Paris, said :

"The cession of Louisiana by Spain to France works most sorely on the United States. On this subject the Secretary of State has written fully, yet I cannot forbear recurring to it personally, so deep is the impression it makes on my mind. It completely reverses all the political relations of the United States, and will form a new epoch in our political intercourse with all nations of any consideration. France is the one which, hitherto, has offered the fewest points in which we could have any conflict of right, and the most points of a communion of interest. From these causes we have ever looked to her as our natural friend, as one with which we never could have an occasion of difference. Her growth, therefore,



Jefferson.



James Madison.

THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY OF STATE AT THE TIME OF THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

we viewed as our own—her misfortunes ours. There is on the globe one single spot, the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans, through which the produce of three-eighths of our territory must pass to market, and from its fertility it will, ere long, yield more than half of our whole produce, and certainly more than half our inhabitants. France placing herself in that door assumes to us the attitude of defense.

* * * The day that France takes possession of New Orleans fixes the sentence which is to restrain her forever within her low-water mark. It seals the union of two nations, who, in conjunction, can maintain exclusive possession of the ocean. From that moment we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation. We must turn all our attention to a maritime force for which our resources place us on very high ground; and having formed and connected together a power which may, under reinforcements of her settlements here, impossible to France, make the first cannon which shall be fired in Europe the signal for tearing up any settlements she may have made, and for holding the two continents of America in sequestration for the common purposes of the United States and British nations. This is not a state of things we seek or desire. It is one which this measure, if adopted by France, forces on us as necessarily as any

other cause by the laws of nature, brings its necessary effect. Every eye in the United States is now fixed on the affairs of Louisiana. Perhaps nothing since the Revolutionary War has produced more uneasy sensations through the body of the nation."

Speaking further of the relations of the two nations, he said that if anything could reconcile these, "it would be the ceding to us of the Island of Orleans. * * * This would, in a great degree, remove the ceaseless jarring and irritation between us and, perhaps, for such a length of time as might produce other means of making the measure permanently conciliatory to our interests and friendship. * * * If France changes that relation, it embarks us necessarily as a belligerent power in the first war in Europe. In that case, France will have held possession of New Orleans during the interval of a peace, long or short, at the end of which it will be wrested from her."

The summing up of it all was that if France would cede the Island of Orleans to the United States for an equivalent in money, then the "marrying" with Great Britain would not take place, and France could have the benefit of an American guarantee of sovereignty west of the Mississippi River. He sent this letter by Dupont de Nemours, open, expressly and avowedly that its contents might be made known in France.

The authorities of Great Britain were favorable to the views expressed by Jefferson, for, on May 7, 1802, while his letter was in transit on the ocean, Lord Hawkesbury wrote Rufus King and said: "It is impossible that so important an event as the cession of Louisiana by Spain to France should be regarded by the King in any other light than as highly interesting to His Majesty and the United States, and should render it more necessary than ever that there should subsist between the two governments that spirit of confidence which is become so essential to the security of their respective territories and possessions." At the same time he informed King that his Government had received no official communication from either Spain or France, and stated that his sovereign was anxious to learn the sentiments of the Americans on every part of this subject, and the line of policy which they would be inclined to adopt in the event of this arrangement being carried into effect. This letter was in reply to one written by King on the 21st of April, asking that "the British Government will, in confidence, explain itself upon this subject."

In the early spring of this year, there was uncertainty and anxiety at Washington, and on May 1st Madison wrote Livingston urging him to press the matter of the purchase of the Island of Orleans, and of the Floridas, if

the latter be included in the cession, and added: "In every view it would be a most precious acquisition." Nine days later he wrote Charles Pinckney, at Madrid, instructing him, if the cession had not taken place, to endeavor to secure the cession of the Spanish territory east of the Mississippi, including the Island of Orleans, to the United States, with the Mississippi as a common boundary, with a common use of its navigation for both nations.

Meantime, the colonial scheme in France went on, as appears from Livingston's letter to Madison, under date of May 28th, in which he stated that Louisiana would certainly be colonized by the French; that General Bernadotte was to command; that Collet was to be second in command; that Adet was to be colonial prefect; but that the expedition was delayed because of a misunderstanding between France and Spain as to the boundaries of Louisiana—the former asserting that the Floridas were included in the cession, while the latter denied this, and insisted upon the strict meaning of the term "Louisiana." Spain was determined to hold the Floridas as security for the protection of her vast territories in South America and Mexico, while France desired to possess them that she might prevent the United States from obtaining a controlling influence in the Mexican Gulf. She

therefore insisted, and rightly, too, that for her there could be no Louisiana without the Floridas. But now all uncertainty was to cease at home and abroad, for on the second day of June, 1802, J. Nicholay D'Azara, the Spanish Minister at Paris, officially informed Livingston of the retrocession of the Louisiana Purchase, and, further, that the Floridas were not included in it. But France so much desired to possess them, that now General Bournonville was sent post haste to Madrid, where in the first conference with Emanuel Godoy, the Spanish Premier, he proposed to restore the Duchy of Parma to Spain in exchange for the Floridas, and when this was declined, he offered to pay forty millions of francs for them. But this, too, was declined. Livingston watched the progress of this negotiation, for he felt that if France should obtain a title to the Floridas, she would never sell the Island of Orleans; rather she would hold it, and thus continue in absolute control of the navigation of the Mississippi River. While awaiting the issue of the negotiation at Madrid, Talleyrand declared to him, with reference to the French occupancy of the Louisiana Purchase, that nothing would be done that would give the people of the United States any just ground for complaint; that, on the contrary, their vicinity would promote our friendship.

Now, for the first time, Livingston gave evidence of perplexity, when, on writing Madison, on the 20th of May, he said that all of his communications had thus far terminated "in nothing." But he never lost sight of the claims of his fellow citizens, and only two days before this he had addressed a communication to Talleyrand, in which he made an imperative demand on the French Government for the payment of these debts. He again wrote Madison, on the 30th of July, and said: "The only thing that can be done is to endeavor to obtain a cession of New Orleans, either by purchase or by offering to make it a port of entry to France on such terms as shall promise advantage to her commerce, and give hopes of introducing her manufactures and wines into that country." Ten days later, he said that he could "get nothing from the French Government regarding Louisiana." This was true so far as official information was concerned, but he was a careful observer of what was passing around him, and on the 6th of August, he informed Madison that the dispute between France and Spain regarding the Floridas had been settled; that the French colonization scheme went on; that General Victor had been appointed to the supreme command of the military establishment of Louisiana; that he was to have a general of division, and two generals of brigade, a controller of

forests, and three thousand men, and that two millions of francs were appropriated for the Louisiana service. Then he expressed the thought that a war between France and Great Britain might retard the movement, and added: "Good may come out of this evil if it shall happen."

In the month of August, Livingston was engaged in an effort to prevent the colonization of the Louisiana Purchase, and he busied himself in the preparation of an extended "Memoir to the French Government," in which he endeavored to answer the question: "Whether it will be advantageous to France to take possession of Louisiana?" His conclusion was that it would not and could not be profitable to do this. He considered the subject under two heads: First—As it affects the commerce and manufactures of France. Second—As it affects her position and relative strength. These were fully discussed, and he declared that:

"Colonies are never cherished for themselves, but on account of the influence they have on the general prosperity of the nation, and as one man at home contributes more to this than two at a distance, no wise nation colonizes but when it has a superfluous population, or when it has capital that cannot otherwise be rendered productive." He closed this Memoir by saying: "The cession of Louisiana is, however, very important to France, if she

avails herself of it in the only way that sound policy would dictate. I speak of Louisiana proper, in which I do not include the Floridas, presuming that they make no part of the cession. Since by this cession she may acquire a right to navigate the whole Mississippi and a free trade; and, if she knows how to avail herself of this circumstance by a perfect understanding with the United States, she will find a vent through it for a vast variety of her commodities when she has given the people of the western States the habit of consuming them in preference to those they receive from Great Britain. This can only be done by affording them cheaper. She can only afford them cheaper by interesting the American merchant in their sale, and having the use of his capital, and by engaging the Government of the United States to give them preference. These objects can only be obtained by a cession of New Orleans to the United States with a reservation of a right of entry at all times, free from any other duties than such as are exacted from the vessels of the United States, together with the right to navigate the Mississippi; this will give her ships an advantage over those of any other nation. * * * While on the other hand, should France retain New Orleans, and endeavor to colonize Louisiana, she will render herself an object of jealousy to Spain, Great Britain and the United States,

the three of whom—Spain on the west, Great Britain on the north, and the United States on the east—would discourage her commerce.”

Twenty copies of this “Memoir” were prepared and distributed among the ministers and other officials of the French Republic. It is the most important State paper connected with the diplomatic correspondence relating to the Louisiana Purchase, except the treaty itself.

On the 30th of August, Livingston, still in great earnest, wrote direct propositions to the French Government on the subject of Louisiana, but was assured by Talleyrand that any offer made at that time was premature, and that Louisiana would be occupied; that this was absolutely determined upon, and that the expedition would sail for that purpose in about six weeks. By the first of September, he had again grown impatient because of the long delays on the part of Talleyrand and others to reply to his communications, and in his letter to Madison on this date, he said: “There never was a government in which less can be done by negotiation. There are no people, no legislature, no councillors. One man is everything. His ministers are mere clerks, and his legislators and councillors but parade officers. All reflecting men are opposed to the wild expedition to Louisiana, but no man dares tell Napoleon so. But I am persuaded that the

whole will end in the relinquishment of the country—an abandonment of the enterprise. * * * There has been a rupture with Portugal; England is sour; and the action of this government will not suffer peace to continue.”

Madison wrote Livingston on the 15th of October, and said: “If the occasion can be so improved as to obtain for the United States, on convenient terms, New Orleans and the Floridas, the happiest of issues will be given to one of the most perplexing questions.” Time passed; little progress was made, but Livingston was constantly seeking opportunities to advance American interests. On the 26th of October he was extremely fortunate in having a conversation with Joseph Bonaparte, a brother of Napoleon, a brother-in-law of General Bernadotte, whose sister he had married, and who was himself soon to become King of Spain, and later of the two Sicilys. The subject of Louisiana was fully discussed, and the latter made a *confidante*. He said that he would receive in an informal way any communication which Livingston might make, but added: “My brother is his own counsellor; but he is a good brother; he hears me with pleasure, and I have access to him at all times. I have an opportunity of turning his attention to a particular subject that might otherwise be passed over.” Livingston asked him if he had

read his "Memoir to the French Government." He replied that he had, and that he had conversed upon the subject with the First Consul, who, he found had read it with attention, and that he had told him he "had nothing more at heart than to be upon the best of terms with the United States." Livingston then spoke of the debts due from the French Government to American citizens—a subject he ever made prominent—and expressed the hope that these might be adjusted by the cession of New Orleans and the Floridas, if the latter should ever come into the possession of France. Joseph then asked him whether the United States would prefer the Floridas to Louisiana. Livingston replied that "as between the two, there was no comparison in their value, but that the United States did not want to extend their boundaries across the Mississippi. * * * That all they sought was security, and not extension of territory." To this Joseph replied that "to secure any additional cession from Spain would be very difficult." By this he meant the cession of the Floridas. Now Livingston had found an avenue by which he could reach the First Consul other than through a tardy ministry. The name of Joseph Bonaparte is scarcely mentioned, hereafter, in the diplomatic correspondence, but Livingston's references to "the only person who was supposed to have influence with him"—Napoleon—leaves

no doubt as to who is meant, nor can there be any that he was active in the future negotiations, as an ardent friend of America.

Again the colonization matter attracted attention, and on the 28th of November, Livingston wrote Jefferson, saying that he thought all Europe, except Russia, was ready to rise against the power of Napoleon, and that while the expedition was under orders to sail for Louisiana, it was deterred in anticipation of coming events. Writing Madison on the same day, he said: "This Mississippi business, though all of the officers are appointed, and the army is under orders, has received a check. It is obstructed for the moment." He had learned that a further complication regarding the Duchy of Parma had arisen, and, but four days later, he wrote Madison that, "The Parma trouble is settled, and the expedition will sail for Louisiana in about twenty days; the appropriation for it has been increased to two and a half millions of francs, and the people there are to pay the expenses of government." His last letter of the year, that of December 22d, informed the Secretary of State that the expedition had not yet sailed.

CHAPTER XII.

NEGOTIATIONS LEADING UP TO THE PURCHASE OF LOUISIANA—THE TREATY OF PARIS—THE CONVENTIONS.

At the beginning of the year 1803, a crisis was at hand in the history of North America. It was the most critical period in the annals of the United States since the founding of the Government. Questions of mighty import were presenting themselves for solution. Was France to colonize Louisiana, occupy New Orleans, and control the navigation of the Mississippi? Was Great Britain, in her impending war with France, to conquer the country west of that river, and thereby extend her possessions from the Lake of the Woods to the Gulf of Mexico? Was the United States to be confined to the east side of the Mississippi, between the thirty-first parallel of north latitude—the northern boundary of Florida—and the Great Lakes? Or, was that republic to become the possessor of New Orleans, to control the commerce on the mighty river, and by securing the Louisiana Purchase, make possible the future extension of its boundaries to the Pacific Ocean, so as to include the twenty trans-Mississippi States of to-day? American statesmen at home and

abroad saw the wonderful possibilities, acted wisely, and "buildded better than they knew."

On the 11th of January, Jefferson conferred upon Livingston plenipotentiary powers to enter into a treaty or convention with Napoleon for "securing our rights and interests in the river Mississippi." Similar increased powers were given Pinckney at Madrid that he might treat for the same interests if it be found that the cession to France had not been fully confirmed. Then after expressing entire confidence in the ability of both these gentlemen, on the same day, Jefferson nominated James Monroe as Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary, to proceed to Europe, there to negotiate jointly with either Livingston, or Pinckney, or both, in the matters before them. On the next day his nomination was confirmed by the Senate by a strict party vote—fifteen to twelve. He was expected to be absent more than a year, and his salary was fixed at nine thousand dollars per annum. On the 13th, Jefferson wrote him at his home in Virginia informing him of his appointment, and, he added: "The agitation of the public mind on the occasion of the late suspension of our right of deposit at New Orleans is extreme. In the western country it is natural and grounded on honest motives. * * * Something sensible has become necessary; and, indeed, our object

of purchasing New Orleans and the Floridas is a measure liable to assume so many shapes that no instructions can be squared to meet them. * * * On the events of this mission depend the future of this Republic."

On the same day that Monroe's appointment was confirmed, Congress made an appropriation of two millions of dollars "to defray the expense which may be incurred in relation to the intercourse between the United States and foreign countries." "We must have New Orleans," was the declaration of the day, and it was then heard on every hand—often in the halls of Congress. No doubt the money thus appropriated was intended to pay for the Island of Orleans.

Meantime, Livingston was busy with American interests in Paris, and on the 10th of January, he informed the French ministry that Great Britain desired to gain control of the mouth of the Mississippi, and thereby establish a southern connection with her Canadian possessions by way of that river and the Great Lakes. To obtain this possession, she would find but little difficulty unless prevented by the United States; for Louisiana, a new colony, would be unable to withstand the forces of Canada advancing on New Orleans. Then he submitted to Talleyrand an outline of a treaty, which he accompanied by the remark that "Louisiana will never be worth

possessing by France without the Floridas." And, continuing, he said:

"First: Let France cede to the United States so much of Louisiana as lies above the Arkansas River. This will place a barrier between the French possessions and Canada, which will prevent successful attack from that source before aid can arrive from France."

"Second: Let France retain the country west of the Mississippi, and below the Arkansas River—a region capable of sustaining fifteen millions of people—and by this action she will place a barrier between the United States and Mexico—New Spain. Then if the former shall ever have the wild idea of carrying their arms into that country, she will be at hand to aid Spain, or against the attack of any other European power."

"Third: Let France hold East Florida as far west as the Perdido River, and then cede West Florida and the Island of Orleans to the United States. This will give France the best lands and nearly all the settlements, together with Fort St. Leon, on the west bank of the Mississippi, eighteen miles below New Orleans, but because of a great bend in the river, nearly opposite that city, and which has an equally good harbor, is higher, healthier, more defensible, destined to be the chief seaport of Louisiana, and will become the capital, even though France retains New Orleans, which is a small town built of wood."

"Such an arrangement alone can keep the whole of that vast region from falling into the hands of Great Britain, who, with her maritime power in the gulf, and a martial colony in Canada, will, with her fleets block up the seaports, and attack New Orleans, while an army of fifteen or twenty thousand men from the St. Lawrence can overrun the whole settled portions of Louisiana. Thus France, by holding on to Louisiana as it is, will, in the end, make Great Britain the master of the New World."

Then he referred again to the mutual interests of France and the United States, and said that if the French authorities thought of these and of the means of protecting them, he would like to arrest the settlement of the boundary matter between the United States and Great Britain, then being adjusted by Rufus King, at London. To this he added: "Every reason of policy should now induce France either to relinquish her design of colonizing Louisiana altogether, or to cover her position by ceding New Orleans to the United States."

On the 18th of January, Madison wrote Livingston saying that Monroe had been appointed, and would sail in a few days, to assist him in the negotiation. "He will," said he, "be the bearer of instructions under which you are to act. * * * The object of them will be to pro-

cure the cession of New Orleans and the Floridas to the United States, and, consequently, the establishment of the Mississippi as the boundary between the United States and Louisiana. In order to draw the French Government into this measure, a sum of money will make part of your propositions, to which will be added such regulations of the commerce of that river and of others entering the Gulf of Mexico as ought to be satisfactory to France."

On the 5th of February, Livingston informed Madison that: "The Louisiana armament has not yet sailed, it being frozen fast in the ice on the coast of France." This was the last mention he ever made of the scheme. In a letter written on the 18th to Madison, he informed him that he found another avenue to the First Consul than through his Minister of Exterior Relations, and that he had effectually done this. "I can," says he, "have a personal conference with him whenever I choose. * * * France is fully impressed with the nullity of her possessions in Louisiana without some port on the gulf."

Nine days later he sent a communication to Napoleon, in which he pressed upon him the payment of the debts due to American citizens, saying that these debts "against the Government of France are so well founded that no administration that ever prevailed in France has refused to recognize them." "At the same time, I must," said he,



Robert R. Livingston



James Monroe

THE TWO AMERICANS WHO NEGOTIATED THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

"solicit some treaty explaining the terms on which France has received Louisiana from Spain." This he urged more earnestly upon the French authorities than ever before because a communication just received from Madison informed him that the Spanish Intendant at New Orleans still kept that port closed against the deposit of American merchandise. He further pressed upon Napoleon the thought that France could never derive any benefit from the occupation of New Orleans, and that he could not but express doubt of "any advantage to be derived to France from the retaining of that country [Louisiana] in its full extent. * * * I think it will be well for her to make such grants of it as will protect it against an enemy from Canada as well as from the sea."

On the second of March, Madison delivered to Monroe "Letters of Credence" for himself and Livingston, by which they were authorized to treat with the Government of the French Republic "on the subject of the Mississippi and the territories to the eastward thereof, and without the United States." "The object in view," continued Madison, "is to procure by just and satisfactory arrangement a cession to the United States of New Orleans and West and East Florida, or as much thereof as the actual proprietor can be prevailed on to part with." It must be kept in mind that France was engaged in a constant effort

to secure the Floridas from Spain, and Madison said further that: "The French Republic is understood to have become the proprietor, by a cession from Spain, of New Orleans, if not of the Floridas." The chief object, however, was to make the Mississippi, down to its mouth, the boundary between the United States and Louisiana. The unstability of the peace of Europe, the hostile attitude of Great Britain, and the languishing state of the French finances were all favorable to American interests. So thought Madison. But he believed that it was the intention of Napoleon to occupy New Orleans, and by thus gaining control of the Mississippi, hold the key to the commerce of its great valley, and thus command the respect and influence of the United States in his war with Great Britain, then near at hand. In this way, he would, at least, make the American Republic a neutral power.

In addition to the letters, Madison also delivered to Monroe the form of a treaty—doubtless the work of Jefferson—which specified the objects desired. It was arranged in a series of articles in the first of which was the provision that France should cede to the United States forever, her territory east of the Mississippi whatever it might be, comprehending New Orleans and the islands lying north of the channel known as the South Pass at the mouth of the Mississippi, France retaining to herself

all the territory on the west side of that river. Thus supplied with instructions for himself and Livingston, Monroe sailed from New York for Havre on the 7th of March, and reached Paris on the 12th of April after a stormy voyage of thirty-six days.

Talleyrand now aided Livingston to reach the ear of the First Consul, a thing he had not previously done. General Bernadotte and Marbois favored the cession of the territory on the east side of the Mississippi, as did other prominent men, among them Le Brun, who was intimate with Barbois on account of the intermarriage of their children. On the 11th of March, Livingston wrote Madison saying that French stocks were selling at sixty-one per cent, "a decline of four per cent in the last few days." In his letter of the next day, he said with respect to the negotiations for Louisiana: "I think nothing will be effected here. I have done everything I can, through the Spanish Ambassador here, to obstruct the bargain between France and Spain for the Floridas, and I have good hope that it will not be soon concluded." It was at this time the policy of the American authorities to discourage the cession of the Floridas to France, for if that country insisted on holding New Orleans, then might the United States secure, by treaty with Spain, a part at least of West Florida, and thus obtain by one or more of its rivers, an outlet to the gulf.

But now the French ministry made a proposition to Livingston. It was to make New Orleans a free port of entry to the vessels of three nations—France, Spain and the United States—to all incoming vessels—that is on imports—provided the United States Government would agree to admit free the merchandise of France and Spain to the upper Mississippi, and the valleys of the Ohio and the Missouri. This Livingston could not consider, first because of its terms, and secondly for want of authority.

In a lengthy letter to Talleyrand, written on the 16th of March, Livingston spoke of Napoleon as “an enlightened statesman who had advanced his country to the highest pinnacle of military glory and national prosperity.” But he declared that “Louisiana is, and ever must be, from physical causes, a miserable country in the hands of any European power. Nor can France on any principle of sound policy dictate any change in the circumstances of New Orleans that shall exclude the citizens of the United States from the right of deposit to which alone they must be indebted for their prosperity. Be assured, sir,” he continued, “that even were it possible that the government of the United States could be insensible to these sufferings, they would find it as easy to prevent the Mississippi River from rolling its waters into the ocean, as to control the impulse of the people to do themselves justice. * *

Sir, I will venture to say that were a fleet to shut up the mouths of the Chesapeake, Delaware and Hudson, it would create less sensation in the United States than the denial of the right of deposit at New Orleans has done.

* * * The people of the Western Country were emigrants from the different States in which they left connections deeply interested in their prosperity."

Meantime, war clouds were rising over Europe. Rufus King writing Madison from London under date of the 17th of March said: "We are all in a bustle, not knowing whether we are to have war or peace." Soon, however, this was to be determined, for all Europe was to be convulsed once more. Napoleon realized that he was on the eve of a war with Great Britain. He had himself violated the terms of the Peace of Amiens, and Britain was never to make truce with him again. He well knew, too, that the Louisiana Purchase was the most defenseless of his possessions; that as such it would be the first the British would strike, and that it must fall into their hands.

This knowledge alone induced him to make the sale. He judged wisely that he would better sell it for as much as he could get, for he was to lose it entirely if he attempted to retain it. He was not so weak in military capacity as to suppose for a moment that he could hold a

level and comparatively unfortified mud bank, inhabited only by a few thousand creoles, and a vast wilderness inland occupied by savages, with the Atlantic Ocean between it and France, against the fighting men of five millions of people; and that, too, with Great Britain joyfully and eagerly ready to anticipate any assistance he could send, so that not a regiment could reach Louisiana without, in part at least, owing it to favoring incidents. He now saw that his colonization scheme was at an end; that this new domain was worthless to France, and must soon pass from its grasp. It was, therefore, both to his advantage and credit to part with it for the best equivalent he could obtain, before the outbreak of another war. The "first cannon fired in Europe," of which Jefferson had spoken nearly a year before, was about to roar the knell of the Peace of Amiens, and it was now for Bonaparte to say whether it should be the "signal," also, for holding the two continents of America in "sequestration" for the common purposes of the "united British and American nations."

On Saturday, April 9th, Marbois went to the Palace of St. Cloud,* to attend a meeting of the Ministry. Napo-

*The Palace of St. Cloud was situated at the village of that name, on the left bank of the Seine River, seven miles west of the center of Paris. It was there that the decision to sell Louisiana was made. It continued to be a royal residence until 1870, when it was burned by the Prussian army.



FRANÇOIS BARBÉ MARBOIS.



NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.



GEN. ALEXANDRÉ BERTHIER.

(The three Frenchmen most intimately connected with the Louisiana Purchase.)

leon asked, "What news from England?" Marbois mentioned the statement made in a London newspaper that an army would be raised to "occupy Louisiana." There was a silence and then Marbois said: "I am sorry that any differences exist between the United States and France." Napoleon, hesitating for a time, replied: "Well, you have charge of the Treasury. Let them give you a hundred millions of francs; pay the debts due their own citizens from France, and take the whole country." Marbois replied, "The thing is impossible. The Americans have not the means of raising that amount of money." "They might borrow it," replied Napoleon, and thus ended the conversation for the time.

Then each day made history. On the next, April 10th, Easter Sunday, there was another remarkable meeting at St. Cloud. There sat Napoleon, the greatest warrior of all time. With him were Marbois and General Berthier—the latter the Minister of War. Events of world-wide importance were discussed, and then the conversation again turned upon Louisiana. Napoleon arose, and with all the earnestness of a conqueror said:

"I am fully sensible of the value of Louisiana, and it was my desire to repair the error of the French diplomats who abandoned it in 1762. I have scarcely received it before I run the risk of losing it; but if I am

obliged to give it up, it shall hereafter cost more to those who force me to part with it, than those to whom I yield it. The English have despoiled France of all her northern possessions in America, and now they covet those of the south. I am determined that they shall not have the Mississippi. Although Louisiana is but a trifle compared to her vast possessions in other parts of the globe, yet, judging from the vexation they have manifested in seeing it returned to the power of France, I am certain that their first object will be to gain possession of it. They will probably commence the war in that quarter. They have twenty vessels in the Gulf of Mexico, and our affairs in St. Domingo are daily getting worse since the death of Le Clerc. The conquest of Louisiana might be easily made, and I have not a moment to lose in putting it out of their reach. I am not sure but what they have already begun an attack upon it. Such a measure would be in accordance with their habits, and, in their place, I should not wait. I am inclined, in order to deprive them of all prospect of ever possessing it, to cede it to the United States. Indeed, I can hardly say that I shall cede it, for I do not yet possess it, and if I wait but a short time, my enemies may leave me nothing but an empty title to grant to the Republic I wish to conciliate. They only ask for one city of Louisiana, but I consider the whole country

lost, and I believe that in the hands of this rising power it will be more useful to the political and even the commercial interests of France, than if I should attempt to retain it. Let me have both your opinions on the subject."

They discussed the measure without decision. Marbois greatly favored the sale; Berthier as earnestly opposed it. The next day Napoleon said to Marbois, "The season for deliberation is over. I have determined to renounce Louisiana. I shall not only give up New Orleans, but the whole country without reservation. * * * I do not undervalue Louisiana. * * * I regret parting with it, but I am convinced that it would be folly to persist in trying to keep it. I commission you, therefore, to negotiate this affair with the envoys of the United States. * * * Were I to regulate my demands by the importance of this territory to the United States, they would be unbounded; but, being obliged to part with it, I shall be moderate in my terms. Still, remember, I must have sixty millions of francs for it, and I will not consent to take less."

Livingston knew nothing of what had transpired at St. Cloud, and on the 11th he wrote Madison that he had done all he could in the Louisiana matter, and that he had made a favorable impression on all unless it was the First Consul, and "I have reason," said he, "to think that he

begins to waver. I assured him that Great Britain would see to it that Spain did not cede the Floridas to France, or, if she did, Britain would seize them as soon as the transfer was made, and that without the Floridas, Louisiana would be indefensible, as it possessed not one port on the Gulf, even for frigates." He was greatly surprised when, later in the day, Talleyrand asked him whether "*he wanted to have the whole of Louisiana?*" He replied in the negative, saying, "*We want only to secure New Orleans, and the Floridas, if ceded by Spain, but it should be the policy of France to give us the country above the Arkansas River, in order to place a barrier between her and Canada.*" To this Talleyrand replied that if they ceded New Orleans, the rest would be of very little value, and he desired to know what the United States would give for the whole. Livingston answered that he had not thought of that. "Then," said Talleyrand, "think of the matter, and let me know to-morrow." Livingston then told him that Monroe would arrive the next day, when he would introduce him, but he was greatly delighted, for he now thought the United States might get Louisiana, and be enabled to exchange it with Spain for the Floridas, especially as the former adjoined the Spanish territory of New Spain—Mexico. "But," he added, "we will not dispose of the skin till we have killed the bear."

The next day—April 12th—while Livingston was at dinner, he saw Marbois walking in the garden, and excusing himself, he went to him and invited him to enter. This Marbois declined to do, saying that inasmuch as there was company in the house, and he desired a conversation, they would better meet in his office at the Treasury Department. To this Livingston assented, and joined him in the afternoon. Marbois hastened to inform him of what Napoleon had said at St. Cloud about the payment of a hundred millions of francs, and taking the whole country, and then he asked, "*Do you want to buy the whole of Louisiana?*" Livingston told him in answer to this that he desired only to make the Mississippi the boundary between the United States and Louisiana; that the Americans had no disposition to extend across that river, and that, of course, they would not give any great sum for its purchase, and, further, that the sum mentioned—that of a hundred millions of francs—was an exorbitant one, and if they thought to consider the purchase, it would only be when the sum was reduced to reasonable limits. Marbois then asked that Livingston should name a price. This, he said, he had no authority to do, and, in turn, insisted that Marbois should mention a reasonable sum. To this he replied that if the Americans would name sixty millions of francs, and take upon them-

selves the payment of debts due their own citizens from France, he would see how far this would be accepted. Livingston replied that it was vain to ask anything that was so greatly beyond their means. Marbois promised to submit the matter to Napoleon again. "But," he added, "you know the temper of the youthful conqueror; everything he does is rapid as lightning; we have only to speak to him as an opportunity presents itself. Try then if you cannot come to my mark. Consider the extent of that country; the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi; and the importance of having no neighbors to dispute with you, no wars to dread." To this Livingston replied that he had thought of all these things as important considerations, but there was a point beyond which he could not go. He then asked whether, in case the United States purchased Louisiana from France, that government would agree never to possess the Floridas. "France will agree to go thus far," replied Marbois. Livingston then promised that he would consult Monroe, and further desired to say that if a negotiation was to be entered into, he hoped that Napoleon would depute some one having more leisure to transact the business than the Minister of Exterior Relations. Marbois said that he thought the management of it would be put in his own hands. When they parted it was far into the night, and when Livingston

left the Treasury building, the clocks in the neighboring steeples of a great city were striking the midnight hour. He walked to his home in silence, for strange emotions filled his mind. He and Monroe were there to negotiate for a city, and now they were offered an empire. On arriving at his home, he wrote Madison a long letter, in which he said: "The field offered us is infinitely larger than our instructions contemplate. But the negotiation! Shall we ever go to the sum proposed by Marbois? Then I try to persuade myself that the whole sum may be raised by the sale of the territory west of the Mississippi, with the right of sovereignty, to some power in Europe whose vicinity we should not fear." He finished this letter as the clock was striking the morning hour of three—April 13th—the closing sentence being: "*We shall do all we can to cheapen the purchase, but my sentiment is that we shall buy.*"

Monroe was introduced to Talleyrand on the 14th—two days after his arrival—and that evening he and Livingston agreed to offer fifty millions of francs to France for Louisiana, including the debts due American citizens from France, and on the next day Livingston informed Marbois of this. That official assured him that it would not be accepted, and that, perhaps, the whole business would be defeated thereby. He again urged Livingston to increase the

amount of their offer, and agreed, if it was so desired, to go out to St. Cloud that very day, and let him know the result of the interview with the First Consul. This he did, notwithstanding the offer was not increased. The day following he told Livingston that Napoleon had spoken of the proposition very coolly, but that he should go to St. Cloud the next day, and it might be possible that the subject would be touched upon again. Livingston replied that he and Monroe could not see their way to offer more than fifty millions of francs. Marbois said that Napoleon had given the Kingdom of Etruria—the Grand Duchy of Tuscany—with its large revenues for Louisiana and Parma, and that he likely placed an estimate beyond its real value upon Louisiana. “Thus we stand at present,” writes Livingston to Madison, “resolving to rest a few days on our oars.”

But there was little time to rest. On the 15th—three days after his arrival—Monroe wrote Madison saying: “It is said this government has resolved to offer us the whole of Louisiana. This was intimated to Mr. Livingston the day after my arrival, and to me since, through another channel.”

On the 18th, he attended a state dinner at the house of Talleyrand, and the next day wrote Madison informing him of his reception, and saying, “I dined yesterday with

the Minister of Exterior Relations in company with my colleague, Mr. Marbois and others. After dinner, Mr. Marbois and myself had much conversation on the subject of my mission, in which he declared with frankness an earnest desire to adjust every possible cause of variance with us. He assured me that the First Consul had decided to offer the whole of Louisiana for one hundred millions of francs, and our assumption of the debts due our citizens from France. * * * That he believed he might be persuaded *to accept sixty millions of francs, and the payment of the debts as above, but not less*, and he was fearful from the peremptory tone of the First Consul's character that if we did not meet him on the ground proposed, he might dismiss the subject from his mind, and with difficulty be brought to take it up again."

The time had arrived for action, and there could be no longer delay. They now knew that they must treat for the whole of Louisiana or abandon the hope of acquiring any part of it, for Marbois' first instructions were "to sell the whole country." They knew, too, that if they got it they must pay sixty millions of francs, and assume the payment of debts due American citizens from the French Republic. They knew, also, that this was not contemplated by their appointment or instructions, but after earnest and careful consideration, they decided to enter

into a treaty for the whole of the Louisiana Purchase. This they made known to Marbois, and the arrangement and agreement upon terms began on the 20th, and continued for ten days, when they were concluded—Saturday, the 30th of April, 1803. Three documents were prepared—one treaty and two conventions. The first of these was entitled the—

TREATY FOR THE CESSION OF LOUISIANA TO THE UNITED
STATES.

*It was Concluded, April 30, 1803; Ratified by Napoleon, May 10,
1803; Ratified by the Senate of the United States, October
20, 1803; Ratifications Exchanged, October 21,
1803; Proclaimed, October 21, 1803.*

The treaty contained an extended introduction in which it was declared that “The President of the United States of America and the First Consul of the French Republic desiring to remove all cause of misunderstanding *
* * and willing to strengthen the union of friendship
* * * between the two nations, have named their plenipotentiaries.”

There were ten articles:

In Article I. it was set forth that: “Whereas, in pursuance of the Treaty—St. Ildefonso—particularly the third article thereof, the French Republic has an incon-

testable title to the domain and the possession of the said territory [Louisiana], the First Consul of the French Republic desiring to give to the United States a strong proof of friendship, doth hereby cede to the United States, in the name of the French Republic forever, and in full sovereignty, all of its rights and appurtenances, as fully and in the same manner as they might have been acquired by the French Republic in virtue of the above-mentioned treaty concluded with his Catholic Majesty."

In Article II. it was provided that in this cession "are included the adjacent islands belonging to Louisiana; all public lots and squares, vacant lands, and all public buildings, fortifications, and other edifices which are not private property. The archives, papers, and documents relative to the dominion and sovereignty of Louisiana and its dependencies will be left in the possession of the Commissioners of the United States."

In Article III. it was declared that "all citizens of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the union of the United States and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States."

In Article IV. it was provided that there should be sent by the Government of France a Commissary to Louisiana,

to the end that he do every act necessary, and as well to receive from the officers of the King of Spain the said country and its dependencies, in the name of the French Republic, if it has not been done already, so as to transmit it in the name of the French Republic to the Commissioners of the United States.

Further details were contained in the additional articles, one of which was that the vessels and merchandise of France and Spain were to be admitted into all the ports of Louisiana free for twelve years, and after that, the ships and merchandise of France were to be admitted on the "same footing as those of the most favored country."

The treaty was signed by Robert R. Livingston, James Monroe and Barbe Marbois, in the order named. When the transaction was completed, Marbois said to the American Commissioners. "You have made a noble bargain for yourselves, and I suppose you will make the most of it." Then Livingston replied by saying: "I consider that from this day the United States takes rank with the Powers of Europe, and now she has entirely escaped from the power of England." When Napoleon was told that the Treaty had been signed, he remarked that "By this cession of territory I have secured the power of the United States, and given to England a maritime rival who, at some future time, will humble her pride." How nearly

correct were the remarks of all three, let the world answer to-day. By this treaty, Louisiana, which had been given by France to Spain forty years before, had now become the property of the United States, and in better hands, it was at a later period to astonish the world by its growth and prosperity.

FIRST CONVENTION.

Convention for Payment of Sixty Millions of Francs by the United States.

(Negotiation, Ratification, Proclamation and Date, Same as Those of Treaty.)

No reference whatever was made in the Treaty to a consideration or compensation to France for the cession of the Louisiana Purchase, but this was provided for in the First Convention. In Article I., it was declared that the United States engaged to pay to the French Government the sum of sixty millions of francs independent of the amount of debts due by France to American citizens and assumed by the United States.

In Article II. it was provided that "for the payment of the sum of sixty millions of francs, the United States shall create a stock of eleven millions two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, bearing interest of six per cent per annum, which interest shall be payable half yearly in

London, Amsterdam and Paris, amounting by the half year to three hundred and thirty-seven thousand five hundred dollars, according to the proportions which shall be determined by the French Government, to be paid at either place, the principal of the said stock to be disbursed at the treasury of the United States in annual payments of not less than three millions of dollars each, of which the first payment shall commence fifteen years after the date of the exchange of ratifications. It was further provided that this stock should be transferred to the Government of France, or to such person or persons as shall be authorized to receive it, within three months, at most, after the exchange of the ratification of this Convention, and after Louisiana shall be taken possession of, in the name of the Government of the United States."

It was further agreed that if "the French Government should be desirous of disposing of the said stock, to receive the capital money in Europe at shorter terms, that its measures for that purpose shall be taken so as to favor, in the fullest degree possible, the credit of the United States, and to raise to the highest price the said stock." The meaning of this was to do it on the best terms for the protection of the credit of the United States.

Again, it was further agreed that "the value of the dollar of the United States in all these negotiations shall be

fixed at 5.3333 francs, or, five francs eight sous ternois, French currency."

SECOND CONVENTION.

Convention for the Payment of Sums Due by France to Citizens of the United States.

(Negotiation, Ratification, Proclamation and Date, Same as Those of Treaty.)

In connection with the Second Convention it was declared that the Treaty of this date terminated all differences relative to Louisiana, and established on a sound foundation the friendship which unites the two nations; that both were desirous, in compliance with the second and fifth articles of the treaty of September 30, 1800, as to "the debts contracted by one of the two nations with the individuals of the other," to secure the payment of the sums due by France to the citizens of the United States.

In Article I. it was declared that: "The debts due by France to citizens of the United States, contracted before the 30th of September, 1800—the ninth year of the French Republic—shall be paid according to the following regulations, with interest at six per cent, to commence from the period when the accounts and vouchers are presented to the French Government."

In Article II. it was provided that "the amount of said debts shall not exceed twenty millions of francs." At

the time this convention was negotiated, the estimated amount of these debts was nineteen million eight hundred and eighty-nine thousand three hundred and three francs, but some of the items were marked "susceptible of considerable reduction," and such they were found to be.

In Article III. it was provided that "The principal and interest of the said debts shall be discharged by the United States by orders drawn by their minister plenipotentiary on their Treasury;" these were to be payable sixty days after the exchange of ratifications of the Treaty and Conventions, and "after possession shall be given of Louisiana by the Commissioner of France to those of the United States."

Succeeding articles contained other details, among them the provision that the American Minister should designate three persons to fully investigate all claims presented for payment, and when found accurate, the creditor was to receive an order on the Treasury of the United States for the amount thus ascertained to be due him.

Thus the Louisiana Purchase was completed, but not a day too soon. On the 3d of May—but three days after the signing of the Treaty—Rufus King, in London, wrote Livingston and Monroe to inform them that, in case of a war with France, "Great Britain intended to send an army to occupy New Orleans." The same day they re-

plied to this letter by saying: "We have the honor to inform you that by a treaty concluded April 30, 1803, between the Minister of the French Government and ourselves, the United States obtained full right to sovereignty in and over New Orleans and the whole of Louisiana as Spain possessed it." On the 15th, King informed Lord Hawkesbury that the United States had acquired all of Louisiana, "as possessed by Spain," and, on the 19th, Hawkesbury acknowledged the receipt of King's letter, and stated that he had laid it before King George III., "who had directed him to express to the American Minister the pleasure he had received from the information it contained." War between France and England immediately ensued, but no British army was sent to New Orleans.

On the 13th of May, Livingston and Monroe wrote a joint letter to Madison explaining their action. They said: "An acquisition of so great an extent was, we well know, not contemplated by our appointment." They had learned that Napoleon had decided to offer to the United States, by sale, the whole of Louisiana, and not a part of it. They had to decide as a previous question, whether they would treat for the whole or jeopardize, if not abandon, the hope of acquiring any part; they, therefore, after mature deliberation, con-

cluded to treat for it all. They said, in justification of their action, that "We are persuaded that the circumstances and considerations which induced us to make it, will justify us in the measure of our Government and our country." On the 29th of July ensuing, Madison replied to this letter, and said that "while the treaty for the whole of Louisiana" was not embraced in their powers, yet he was "charged by the President to express his entire approbation in their so doing." A grateful nation and a hundred millions of people applaud their action a hundred years thereafter.

CHAPTER XIII.

SPAIN OPPOSES THE CESSION—RATIFICATION OF THE
TREATY AND CONVENTIONS—LEGISLATION
BY CONGRESS RELATING TO THE
LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

On the 13th of May, 1803, M. Disieux left Paris with a copy of the treaty and of each of the conventions which had been ratified by Napoleon four days before, and proceeded by way of Bordeaux to the United States. A Mr. Hughes bore copies by way of London, and still others were sent by Amsterdam. The first copies reached Washington City on the 14th of July ensuing. Now there was to be no more delay. On the 25th of June, while the treaty was in transit on the ocean, Livingston wrote Madison and said: "I hope in God nothing may occur to prevent the ratification and that, without the altering of a single syllable of the terms, it will be done. France is sick of the bargain and Spain is much dissatisfied." Jefferson made haste, and on the 16th of July—but two days after the receipt of the treaty—issued a proclamation convening Congress in extra session to meet on the 17th of the ensuing October.

But at this time an unexpected complication arose. Early in the year Charles Pinckney, at Madrid, was engaged in an effort to secure a cession of the Floridas from Spain to the United States, now that they were known not to be included in the transfer of Louisiana to France. In the progress of these negotiations, Don Pedro Cevallos, the Spanish Secretary of State, wrote him from Aranjuez, on the 4th of May following, saying that his "King would not further dispossess himself of any part of his kingdom." Then he added: "By the retrocession made to France of Louisiana, this Power acquires the said province with the limits it had, and * * * the United States can address themselves to the French Government to negotiate the acquisition of territory which may suit their interest." Here was a positive declaration that France was not only the owner of the Louisiana Purchase, but that if the United States desired to possess it, negotiations must be conducted with that country. But, let us imagine the surprise of Secretary Madison when he received a letter from M. de Casa Yrujo, the Spanish Minister to the United States, written at Philadelphia, September 4, in which he said that his King was surprised to learn that France had sold Louisiana to the United States, as that province had been ceded to France with understandings of the most solid

engagements never to alienate the said province. To convince the American authorities of the truth of his statement, he quoted a paragraph from an agreement bearing date July 22, 1802, between M. de St. Cyr, the Ambassador of the French Republic at Madrid, and the Spanish Secretary of State. From this it appeared conclusive that such an understanding had been agreed upon between the representatives of the two nations, for, in the paragraph referred to, after reciting the wish of the Spanish Government in the matter, St. Cyr said: "I am authorized to declare to you in the name of the First Consul, that France will never alienate it." Thus it was made known to the President that the sale of Louisiana was made in direct violation of an obligation on the part of France to Spain. Again, on the 27th of the same month, the Spanish Minister, writing this time from the "vicinity of Philadelphia" on the same subject, made the further statement that France had not complied with the requirements of the treaty of St. Ildefonso regarding the Duke of Parma in this, that she was to have him recognized as the King of Etruria by the powers of Europe, and that the courts of London and St. Petersburg had not done this, and that, therefore, the sale of Louisiana was void because of a failure on the part of France to comply in this particular with the terms of the treaty.

To these letters Madison replied on the 4th of October, 1803, saying that he little expected objections to the cession on the part of Spain when in the preceding month of May her Secretary of State had directed the United States to negotiate with France for additional territory. This he quoted in full from Cevallos' letter to Pinckney, and then remarked that: "Here is an explicit and positive recognition of the right of the United States and France to enter into the transaction which has taken place."

Again Casa Yrujo wrote, under date of October 12th, this time from Baltimore, and declared that "According to existing circumstances the French Government had no right to sell Louisiana nor the United States any right to buy it." This was the last correspondence touching this subject this year.*

On the 14th of October Louis Andre Pichon, the Minister of the French Republic to the United States, and

*On the 10th of February, 1804, Don Pedro Cevallos, Spanish Minister of State, addressed a note dated at Pardo, to Charles Pinckney at Madrid, and said: "His Majesty has thought fit to renounce his opposition to the alienation of Louisiana made by France, notwithstanding the solid reasons on which it was founded; thereby giving a new proof of his benevolence and friendship toward the United States." This was officially announced to the American authorities by Casa Yrujo, who wrote Madison from Philadelphia, under date of May 15, 1804, and said: "The explanations which the government of France has given to his Catholic Majesty concerning the sale of Louisiana to the United States, and the amicable disposition on the part of the King, my master, towards those states, have determined him to abandon the opposition which, at a prior period and with the most substantial motives, he had maintained against that transfer."

then residing at Georgetown in the District of Columbia, addressed a letter to Madison, setting forth that by the treaty of Madrid, March 22, 1801, it was shown that France had complied with the terms relating to the Duke of Parma, and that Spain had ordered the delivery of Louisiana to France; that a circular had been forwarded to the Captain-General of Louisiana to surrender the same, and that the Marquis Casa Calvo had been sent to Louisiana to superintend its execution. He then asserted the right of France to make the cession, and declared that Spain knew of the negotiations at Paris for a whole year, and that she had never made any protest. He hoped, therefore, that the United States would, without further delay, proceed to accept the cession from the commissioner appointed by Napoleon to transfer the same.

Meantime, Monroe had passed over from Paris to London and there Madison wrote him on the 24th of October, and enclosed copies of the letters from the Spanish Minister and also one of that received from Pichon. He stated that the treaty for Louisiana had been ratified in form, and was then before Congress for legislative provisions necessary to carry it into force. "It remains," said he, "to be seen how far Spain will persist in her remonstrances and how far she will add to these, resistance by force." Should the latter course be taken, it

can lead to nothing but a substitution of a forcible for a peaceable possession. Having now a clear and honest title, acquired in a mode pointed out by Spain herself, it will, without doubt, be ratified with a decision becoming our national character and required by the importance of the object."

In August, Jefferson made a journey to the northward, and on the 12th wrote United States Senator John Breckenridge, of Kentucky, and said: "Objections are raised to the eastward against the vast extent of our boundaries, and propositions are being made to exchange Louisiana, or a part of it, for the Floridas. But, as I have said, we shall get the Floridas without, and I would not give an inch of the waters of the Mississippi to any nation, because I see in a light very important to our peace the exclusive right to its navigation, and the admission of no nation into it, but as into the Potomac or the Delaware, with our consent and under our police." Continuing, he said: "The inhabited part of Louisiana from Point Coupee to the sea will, of course, be immediately a territorial government and soon a State. But above that, the best use we can make of the country for some time will be to give establishments in it to the Indians on the east side of the Mississippi in exchange for their present country, and open land offices in the last,

and thus make the acquisition the means of filling up on the eastern side instead of drawing off its population. When we shall be full on this side, we may lay off a range of States on the western bank from the head to the south, and so, range after range, advancing compactly as we multiply." Then he hoped that Congress would ratify the Treaty and Conventions and pay for Louisiana, and thus "secure a good which would otherwise probably never be again within their power." He then thought the Constitution should be amended, for it, said he, "has made no provision for the holding of foreign territory and still less for incorporating foreign nations into our Union. The Executive, in seizing the fugitive occurrence, which so much advances the good of our country, has done an act beyond the Constitution. * * * Congress must ratify and pay for it, and throw themselves on their country for doing for them, unauthorized, what we know they would have done for themselves, had they been in a situation to do it. * * * I pretend to no right to bind you. You may disavow me, and I must get out of the scrape as I can. But we will not be disavowed by the nation and their act of indemnity will confirm and not weaken the Constitution, by more strongly marking out its lines."

Congress assembled on the 17th of October in compliance with the call, and Jefferson in his annual message

said: "In calling you together, fellow citizens, at an earlier date than was contemplated by the last session of Congress, I have not been insensible to the personal inconveniences necessarily resulting from an unexpected change in your arrangements; but matters of great public concernment have rendered this call necessary, and the interest you feel in these will supersede in your minds, all private considerations. Congress witnessed, at its last session, the extraordinary agitation produced in the public mind by the suspension of our right of deposit at the port of New Orleans, no assignment of another place having been made according to treaty. * * * The western country remained under foreign power. * * * Propositions were made on fair conditions for obtaining the sovereignty of New Orleans. This was done because the appropriation of two millions of dollars by the last Congress was considered as conveying the sanction of Congress to the acquisition proposed. The enlightened Government of France saw, with a just discernment, the importance to both nations of such arrangement as would best and permanently promote the peace, friendship and interest of both, and the property and sovereignty of all Louisiana which had been restored to that nation have been, on certain conditions, transferred to the United States by instruments bearing date the 30th of April last."

He then enumerated some of the advantages to accrue from this, among them being "the sovereignty of the Mississippi; the uncontrolled navigation of western rivers; an independent outlet for the produce of the western States; freedom from collision with other Powers; and the fertility of the country, its climate and extent, which promise, in due season, important aids to the Treasury, ample provision for our posterity, and a wide spread for the blessings of freedom and equal laws." "The immediate occupation and temporary government of the country with all things else that pertain to it, are matters that engage the attention of Congress."

It was the first session of the Eighth Congress. In the Senate there were thirty-four members, of whom nine were Federalists. These were Jonathan Dayton, of New Jersey; Simeon Olcott and William Plummer, of New Hampshire; Timothy Pickering and John Q. Adams, of Massachusetts; James Hillhouse and Uriah Tracy, of Connecticut; and William H. Wells and Samuel White, of Delaware. In the House of Representatives there were more than a hundred members, of whom nearly forty were Federalists. Soon it was discovered that these in both houses of Congress were almost solidly united in opposition to the purchase of Louisiana, and ready, therefore, to oppose all legislation regarding it.

Jefferson sent the Treaty and Conventions to the Senate where, after three days of animated discussion, they were ratified, every Federalist in that body voting against this except Dayton. John Q. Adams did not arrive until the next day, but had he been present he would have voted for ratification.

Now that the Treaty and Conventions were ratified, the necessary legislation to put their provisions into force must be enacted. This included three important enactments:

First—To provide for the payment for the Louisiana Purchase.

Second—To provide for the payment of debts due American citizens from the French Republic, now assumed by the United States.

Third—To provide for taking possession of the ceded territory and establishing civil government therein.

The First Convention, as we have seen, provided that for the payment for the ceded territory, the United States Government was to issue stocks or bonds irredeemable for fifteen years, and then to be discharged in annual payments with an interest of six per cent, payable semi-annually in London, Amsterdam or Paris.

For a compliance with this, John Randolph, of Virginia, introduced into the House of Representatives,

October 18th—second day of the session—a bill entitled “An Act authorizing the creation of a stock of eleven million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the purpose of carrying into effect the First Convention of the 30th of April, 1803.” It provided that in three months after the ratification of the cession, this stock was to be issued by the Treasury of the United States; that the whole should be paid in fifteen years; and that seven hundred thousand dollars was to be set aside annually to the credit of the Sinking Fund for this purpose.

At once the Federalists, with a few noted exceptions, arrayed themselves in opposition to this bill. Gaylord Griswold, of New York, Roger Griswold, of Connecticut, and Andrew Gregg, of Pennsylvania, led the opposition in the House; while White, of Delaware, and Olcott, of Connecticut, were at the head of it in the Senate. Gaylord Griswold based his opposition to it on constitutional grounds and with clearness and force discussed at length the provisions of the Treaty and Conventions. Roger Griswold asserted that neither Louisiana nor any other foreign nation can be incorporated into the Union, either by treaty or law. White and his colleagues in the Senate produced similar and other arguments and for twelve days the discussion continued in both branches. The opposition demanded copies of the Treaty and Conven-

tions, together with all the diplomatic correspondence pertaining to the Louisiana Purchase, and by long debates delayed action. The genuineness of the treaty was attacked. It was declared that the region had been but little explored and far less traversed by surveyors; that none knew its boundaries or extent and that, therefore, it should not be accepted. "Then, too," said they, "the United States could have driven Spain out of Louisiana for one-sixth of the sum to be paid to France for it; and that, too, at a time when she had violated a sacred treaty obligation with us, thereby insulting the President and prostrating the commerce of the western country. All the world would have applauded our conduct in taking forcible possession of New Orleans." Again it was urged that if "in occupying that territory we have to fire a musket, to charge a bayonet, or to lose a drop of blood, it will not be such a cession on the part of France as should justify to the people of this country the payment of any, and much less so enormous a sum of money." "Its possession," said they, "will be productive of immeasurable evils. It is but buying of France authority to make war on Spain. We must have New Orleans to secure to ourselves forever the complete and uninterrupted navigation of the Mississippi. * * * But as to Louisiana, this new, immense, unbounded world would, if it should

ever be incorporated into this Union, be the greatest curse that ever fell upon it. * * * The settlement of this country," they said, "will be highly injurious to the United States. We have already territory enough. * * * Then, too, if the acquisition was a desirable one, fifteen millions of dollars is an enormous sum to pay for it."

But these arguments were met most ably. John Randolph, the author and patron of the bill, spoke for it, and of the purpose for which it was designed. He was an orator, and with argument resplendent with rhetorical flourish and literary excellence, replied to the Griswolds; while Joseph H. Nicholson, of Maryland, the foremost lawyer of the House, defended the constitutional right of the United States to acquire territory, asserting that every sovereign country of the world possesses the right to increase its domain, and that this could be done only by purchase or conquest. In the Senate John Breckenridge bore down all opposition, and then John Q. Adams, himself a Federalist, arose and said: "Our Ministers may have exceeded their powers when they negotiated the treaty, for they had no authority to do it; the Senate may have exceeded its powers when it ratified the treaty; the House may exceed its powers by passing bills for carrying out its provisions. Nay, that the States, compelled

to amend the Constitution in other causes, could not do it in this without exceeding their powers, there still remains with the country a force competent to adopt and sustain every part of our engagements and to carry them into execution; such is the public favor attending the transaction which began with the negotiation of the treaty and will end in the full and undisturbed possession of the ceded territory. * * * We can, therefore, fulfill our parts of the conditions and that is all France has a right to expect of us." Dayton voiced the sentiments of Adams and the bill passed both houses by large majorities. Thus was provision made to pay for the Louisiana Purchase.*

On the 29th of October, the House of Representatives considered and unanimously passed another bill which was entitled "An Act making provision for the payment of claims of citizens of the United States by virtue of the Second Convention of the 30th of April, 1803, between the United States and the French Republic." It pro-

*Immediately after the Treaty was concluded, the banking house of Baring, in London, and that of Hope, in Amsterdam, offered, for a moderate commission, to at once take from the French government the American stocks which were to be created in payment of the purchase of Louisiana, at their current value in England, and to meet our engagements to France by stipulated installments. On the 7th of June, 1803, Livingston wrote Madison of the offer, or rather, contract, of these banks with the French government. A third of the whole debt was to be advanced to them in Washington, and the remaining two-thirds to be sent to Paris through L. A. Pichon, the French Minister at Washington.

vided for the payment of three million seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars of these claims, which when added to the eleven million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars provided for in the previous bill, equalled the sum of fifteen millions, which was to be paid for Louisiana. The basis of the sum to pay these debts was the two millions of dollars appropriated on the preceding 12th of January to aid Jefferson in his intercourse with foreign nations and which had not been used. He was now to borrow one million seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars to be added for this purpose. Another clause of this bill provided for the appropriation of eighteen thousand seven hundred and fifty dollars for the compensation of commissioners, secretaries and agents for investigating the claims of citizens, and for contingencies. The bill went to the Senate, which body passed it on the second of November, 1803.

On the 22d of October John Breckenridge offered a bill in the Senate entitled "An Act authorizing the President to take possession of and occupy the territories ceded by France to the United States and directing him to employ the army and navy of the United States for this purpose. Also for the government of the same until Congress shall have made provision for the government of said territories." The Senate passed this bill on the

26th by a vote of twenty-six yeas and six noes. The same day it was reported in the House and there passed two days later, by a vote of eighty-nine for and twenty-three against. An appropriation of fifteen thousand dollars was then made to enable the President to carry the provisions of the act into effect.

Thus it is seen that when Congress had been in session but seventeen days the Treaty and Conventions had been ratified and all legislation made necessary by both had been enacted. All that now remained was to occupy the land.

The purchase of Louisiana secured to the American people, independently of territorial expansion, several prime national objects. It gave them that unity and independence which is derived from the absolute control and disposition of their commerce, trade and industry, in every department, without the hindrance or meddling of any intervening nation between them and the sea, or between them and the markets of the world. It gave them ocean boundaries on all exposed sides, for it left Canada exposed to them—not them to Canada. It made them indisputably and forever the controllers of the Western Hemisphere. It placed their national course, character, civilization and destiny in their own hands. It gave them the certain sources of a not distant numerical strength, to which that

of the mightiest empires of the past or present are but insignificant. It was, too, an acquisition which cost not a drop of blood. The men who secured it were not the leaders of armies. There were no tears—no human woes. Thus was acquired for the United States more extensive and fertile domain than ever for a moment owned the sway of Napoleon.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE UNITED STATES IN POSSESSION OF THE LOUISIANA
PURCHASE—CIVIL GOVERNMENT
ESTABLISHED THEREIN.

We have seen that on the 30th of November, 1803, the Marquis de Casa Calvo, the commissioner or agent on the part of Spain, had surrendered Louisiana to Peter Clement Laussat, appointed on the part of France to receive it. He arrived in New Orleans on the 24th of March for this purpose, but the formal transfer was delayed more than eight months. Soon after coming to the Mississippi, Laussat had an intimation that his Government had sold Louisiana to the United States. Writing home for definite information respecting this matter, he received a reply informing him of the cession and a commission with instructions to deliver the province to the American commissioners as soon as he should have received it from Spain. This, as stated, occurred on the 30th of November, and that day Spanish sovereignty ended on the banks of the Mississippi. Then Laussat stood alone, surrounded on all hands by civil and military officers of Spain, but none had authority to keep the

peace. There was not a French official or soldier in Louisiana save himself, and the American commissioners were far away. How should anarchy be prevented? Daniel Clark was the United States Consul at New Orleans, and Laussat with his assistance raised a volunteer force of three hundred men, chiefly Americans, and with these order was maintained until the arrival of the American commissioners. Laussat was the colonial prefect of the French Republic; and he acted under a commission and special mandate from Napoleon. It was dated at St. Cloud, June 6, 1803, eleventh year of the French Republic, and was countersigned by Hugues Maret, the French Secretary of State, and by Dacres, the Minister of Marine.

Notwithstanding the cession to France, there was yet a very considerable Spanish military establishment on the Lower Mississippi. This consisted in part of the New Orleans Battalion of five hundred men; the City Artillery of one hundred and fifty men; the City Cavalry of two companies of seventy men each; the Provincial Regiment of one thousand men, and the Mississippi Legion of sixteen hundred men, the latter distributed at various points. Then, too, there was a long list of Spanish officers, among them being the Marquis de Casa Calvo, a brigadier-general of the army of Spain, and late chief com-

mandant of Louisiana; Don Joseph Martinez de Crosa, brigadier-major of engineers; Andre Lopez Armesto, commissary of war; Don Benigno Gareior Calderon, adjutant of the Regiment of Louisiana; Don Fernando Moreno, surgeon of the hospital; Don Anthony Molina, commandant of boats; Don Juan Ventura Morales, paymaster of the army, and late Intendant, *pro tempore*, who had closed the port of New Orleans against the deposit of American merchandise; and Don Manuel Toledano, officer of the guard, together with half a hundred others of various ranks.

The mail which left Washington City on Monday, November 7th, bound overland for Natchez contained two commissions bearing date of October 31st, each having the signature of Jefferson and being countersigned by Madison as Secretary of State. One of these was for William Charles Cole Claiborne,* then Governor of Mississippi Territory, whose capital was the town of

*William C. C. Claiborne was born in Sussex county, Virginia, in 1775. He received an excellent education, studied law, and located for the practice of his profession in Nashville, Tennessee, the first constitution of which State he assisted to frame. He was the first member of Congress from the Nashville district, serving as such from 1797 to 1801, and in the latter year was appointed governor of Mississippi Territory. From December 20, 1803, to October 1, 1804, he was governor of both Mississippi Territory and the Province of Louisiana. On the latter date he became governor of the Territory of Orleans and as such served by successive appointments until 1812, when he was elected by the people governor of the State of Louisiana. In this capacity he served until 1816, when he was chosen a United States Senator, but died in New Orleans, November 23, 1817, before taking his seat. His name is commemorated in that of counties in Mississippi, Louisiana and Tennessee.



William C. C. Claiborne



Gabriel King

The two Americans who formerly received the Louisiana Purchase from Peter Clement Laussat, the French Commissioner, at New Orleans, December 20, 1803.

Washington near Natchez. The other was for General James Wilkinson,* then commanding the Western Military Department. They were thus appointed as commissioners on the part of the United States to receive the formal surrender of the Louisiana Purchase from Laussat, the French commissioner, then awaiting their coming at New Orleans. Claiborne was, at the time, at the seat of government of Mississippi Territory. Wilkinson had his headquarters at Fort Adams which he himself had erected five years before on Loftus Heights on the east bank of the Mississippi, now in the extreme western part of Wilkinson County, Mississippi. At this time, he was absent in Florida, but when returning, stopped in New Orleans on the 23d of November but seven days before the Spanish commissioner transferred Louisiana to Laussat. Hastening on to Fort Adams, he there made necessary preparation as required by the instructions which accompanied his commission which he found awaiting him at that place.

*James Wilkinson was born at Benedict, Maryland, in 1757. He was educated for the medical profession, but joined Washington's army at Cambridge at the beginning of the Revolution. He rose rapidly in the scale of promotion and was acting adjutant-general of the army at the battle of Saratoga. At the close of the war he removed to Lexington, Kentucky, where he was engaged in commercial and other enterprises until 1791, when he again entered the army and was very successful in his campaign against the northwestern Indians, and upon the death of General Wayne, in 1796, succeeded to the command of the Western Army. He rose to the rank of major-general in the second war with Great Britain, at the close of which he removed to Mexico and died near the city of that name December 28, 1825.

But now a question of much import presented itself to the authorities at Washington City. Would the large number of Spaniards in the Louisiana Purchase quietly and unresistingly witness its surrender by Laussat to the American commissioners? Spain had, as we have seen, but recently opposed the cession, asserting that under the terms of an agreement with France that nation was never to alienate Louisiana. William H. Wells had but a few days before on the floor of the Senate, asked the question: "What would happen if, on the arrival of the American soldiers at New Orleans, the Spanish soldiers should refuse to obey the French prefect and choose to defend the territory?" At the same time and place, Samuel White had declared that "the buying of Louisiana from France is but the buying of a war with Spain." But Congress had directed the President to take possession of the ceded territory and had authorized him to employ the army to aid in this if necessary. He, accordingly, took the precaution as he said, "to be prepared for anything unexpected that might arise out of this transaction." Madison, writing Livingston in Paris, under date of November 9th, said: "Circumstances indicating that delivery may be refused at New Orleans, on the part of Spain, requires that provision should be made as well for *taking* as *receiving*. * * *

The force provided

for this object is to consist of the regular troops near at hand, as many of the militia as may be required and be drawn from Mississippi Territory, and as many volunteers from any quarter as can be picked up. To these will be added five hundred mounted militia from Tennessee." Pichon, the French Minister at Washington, issued orders to Laussat and urged upon him "the necessity of co-operating in these measures of compulsion, should they prove necessary, by the refusal of the Spanish officers to comply without them."

General Wilkinson made haste to assemble the regular troops from Fort Massac, in Illinois Territory, and other posts, at Fort Adams, and thus was collected an army of occupation on the soil of Mississippi. The entire military forces of Ohio and Kentucky were ordered under arms with instructions to be ready to march at a minute's notice; and five hundred State troops from Tennessee advanced and occupied Natchez. Claiborne left Colonel Cato West, the territorial secretary, in charge of the government of Mississippi Territory, and journeyed from Washington town to Natchez. He left that place on the 2d of December and was escorted to Fort Adams by the Natchez Artillery, the Natchez Rifles, and a company of militia, and was speedily followed by three companies of volunteers from Jefferson and Claiborne counties in Mississippi.

When all was in readiness, the army took up the line of march from Fort Adams, under the command of one man and escorting another, the two of whom were to receive, not a city, but the sovereignty over a vast territorial empire, together with the full and complete control of the navigation of the mightiest river on the globe. On Saturday evening, December 17th, this army halted and went into camp within two miles of New Orleans. Here the Sabbath day was spent in quiet, and early Monday morning an officer bore a message from the American camp to Laussat, informing him of the presence of Claiborne and Wilkinson, and that they were there with credentials from the United States Government authorizing them to receive the Province of Louisiana. There was no delay, for Laussat replied that on the very next day—December 20th—he should be ready to surrender it to them. Early in the morning, the Americans entered the city and at 10 o'clock the commissioners of the two nations assembled in the hall of the old Hotel de Ville “accompanied on both sides by the chiefs and officers of the army and navy, by the municipality and divers respectable citizens of their respective republics.” Then Claiborne and Wilkinson presented to Laussat the authority given them “to take possession of and occupy the territory ceded by France;” and he, in turn, exhibited

his credentials authorizing him to transfer the Province, and declared that he "put from that moment the said commissioners of the United States in possession of the country, territories and dependencies of Louisiana." He then formally delivered "at this public sitting the keys of the City of New Orleans," and at the same moment proclaimed that he discharged "from their oath of fidelity" to the French Republic, all the "citizens and inhabitants of Louisiana who shall choose to remain under the dominion of the United States."* The occasion was one of solemnity. The deed of cession, written in both the English and French languages, and which transferred the sovereignty over the fairest portion of the globe from one republic to another, was in the silence of the hour signed by the commissioners. Then the American soldiers, drawn up in line on the Place d'Armes, fired a volley, a band played "Hail Columbia;" the beautiful flag of France was hauled down from a lofty pole, where it had waved but twenty days, and, amid the acclamations of the people, the American flag rose and flung out its folds of bright stars and stripes to the breezes, and there it floated high above the spires and domes of the "Crescent City." The Louisiana Purchase was com-

*Appendix "A" should be read in connection with the statements presented here.

pleted. The American soldiers were there, but, as Jefferson said, "no occasion arose, however, for their services. There was not the least disturbance of any character." The Spanish officers looked with silent interest on the scene then transpiring, as they had done but twenty days before when their own country transferred the Province to France. Some of them became American citizens and lived and died in the Louisiana Purchase; while the others remained until assigned to duty in the Spanish armies in South America, the West Indies and New Spain.

As quickly as the deed of cession was signed the commissioners wrote James Madison, the Secretary of State, as follows:

CITY OF NEW ORLEANS, Dec. 20, 1803.

SIR:—We have the satisfaction to announce to you that the Province of Louisiana was this day surrendered to the United States by the commissioner of France; and to add that the flag of our country was raised in this city amidst the acclamation of the inhabitants.

Accept assurances of our respectful consideration.

WILLIAM C. C. CLAIBORNE.

JAS. WILKINSON.

Not only had Claiborne been appointed one of the commissioners to receive the cession, but he was made Governor of the Province of Louisiana as well, being "duly invested with the powers heretofore exercised by the

Governor and Intendant of Louisiana." He immediately assumed the government and issued a proclamation in which he reviewed briefly the events leading up to the possession of the Louisiana Purchase by the United States and then declared that :

"The government heretofore exercised over the said Province of Louisiana, as well under the authority of Spain as of the French Republic, has ceased and that of the United States of America is established over the same; that the inhabitants thereof will be incorporated in the union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States; that in the meantime they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property and the religion which they profess; that all laws and municipal regulations, which were in existence at the cessation of the late government, remain in full force; and all civil officers charged with their execution, except those whose powers have been specially vested in me, and except also such officers as have been intrusted with the collection of the revenue, are continued in their functions, during the pleasure of the Governor for the time being or until provision shall otherwise be made."

Immediately after issuing his proclamation, he delivered the following address to the citizens of Louisiana :

"Fellow Citizens of Louisiana:

On the great and interesting event now finally consummated—an event so advantageous to yourselves, and so glorious to united America, I can not forbear offering you my warmest congratulations. The wise policy of the Consul of France has, by the

cession of Louisiana to the United States, secured to you a connection beyond the reach of change, and to your posterity the sure inheritance of freedom. The American people receive you as brothers; and will hasten to extend to you a participation in those inestimable rights, which have formed the basis of our own unexampled prosperity. Under the auspices of the American Government, you may confidently rely upon the security of your liberty, your property, and the religion of your choice. You may with equal certainty rest assured that your commerce will be promoted and your agriculture cherished; in a word, that your true interests will be among the primary objects of our national legislature. In return for these benefits, the United States will be amply remunerated, if your growing attachment to the Constitution of our country, and your veneration for the principles on which it is founded, be duly proportioned to the blessings which they will confer. Among your first duties, therefore, you should cultivate with assiduity among yourselves the advancement of political information; you should guide the rising generation in the paths of republican economy and virtue; you should encourage literature, for without the advantages of education your descendants will be unable to appreciate the intrinsic worth of the government transmitted to them.

As for myself, fellow citizens, accept a sincere assurance, that, during my continuance in the position in which the President of the United States has been pleased to place me, every exertion will be made on my part to foster your internal happiness, and forward your general welfare, for it is only by such means that I can secure to myself the approbation of those great and just men who preside in the councils of our nation."

President Jefferson was kept fully advised of the progress of affairs at New Orleans, with which he was delighted, for that for which he had waited so anxiously

was now finally consummated. On the 16th of January, 1804, he officially informed Congress of the peaceable possession of Louisiana, and closed his final message by saying: "On this important acquisition so favorable to the immediate interests of our western citizens, so auspicious to the peace and security of the nation in general, which adds to our country territories so extensive and fertile, and to our citizens new brethren to partake of the blessings of freedom and self-government, I offer to Congress and our country my sincerest congratulations."

Governor Claiborne made New Orleans the capital of the new possessions and spent much of his time there, while Cato West continued as the acting Governor of Mississippi Territory. At the beginning of the year 1804, Claiborne sent a detachment to occupy Fort St. Leon, on the west bank of the Mississippi and nearly opposite New Orleans. This was the first American garrison in the Louisiana Purchase west of that river. When Casa Calvo surrendered the Province to France, he did so with its full extent—both Upper and Lower Louisiana—and with similar bounds it was transferred to the United States by Laussat, but neither he, his representative, nor any official of the United States appeared at St. Louis, and Delassus, the Spanish Lieutenant-Governor, continued

in command at that post one hundred and twenty days after the cession, or until March 10, 1804, when he surrendered it to Captain Amos Stoddard* of the United States army, who arrived, and on that day hoisted the stars and stripes over St. Louis, which was later to grow into a great American city. There he remained as military and civil commandant until July 4, 1805.

The administration of Claiborne was but temporary, and, as he had announced in his proclamation, he enforced the laws and regulations of Spain as they had previously existed in the Province. And now that the United States was in possession of the Louisiana Purchase, Congress hastened to establish civil government therein. An act "for erecting Louisiana into two Territories and providing for the temporary Government thereof," was approved by President Jefferson on the 4th of March, 1804. This act became effective and in full force and operation on the first day of the succeeding October. It provided that "All that part of the region under the name of Louisiana, south of the Mississippi Territory and of an east and west line to commence on the Mississippi River at the

*Amos Stoddard was born in Woodbury, Connecticut, October 26, 1762. He received a good education, served in the revolutionary army, studied law, was chief clerk of the supreme court of Massachusetts, entered the regular army, rose to the rank of major, and died July 16, 1813, from wounds received at the siege of Fort Meigs. He wrote much, his best known work being "Sketches, Historical and Otherwise, of Louisiana."

Thirty-third degree of latitude north and extend west to the western boundary of the said cession, shall constitute a Territory of the United States under the name of the Territory of Orleans," and of this the city of New Orleans was made the seat of government. The Governor was to be appointed by the President for a term of three years, at a salary of five thousand dollars per annum; the Secretary was also to be appointed by the President for a term of four years, his salary being fixed at two thousand dollars per annum. It was his duty to record and preserve all proceedings of the Governor and of the legislative council and to make reports to the President every six months. The legislative council consisted of the Governor and thirteen of "the most fit and discreet persons, to be appointed by the President and to receive four dollars per day while in the discharge of their duties." William C. C. Claiborne, Governor of Mississippi Territory and of the Province of Louisiana as well, having filled the latter position ten months and eleven days, was now relieved of the duties of both offices and appointed chief executive of the Territory of Orleans, the duties of which he assumed October 1, 1804, and by successive appointments continued to discharge until 1812. Section twelve of the act provided that the residue of the Province of Louisiana ceded by France, the area of which

was more than eight hundred thousand square miles, should be called the District of Louisiana, "and the Government of Indiana Territory is extended hereby over the same." Early in the summer of 1804, General William Henry Harrison, then Governor of Indiana Territory, visited St. Louis for the purpose of learning the needs of the inhabitants. Then he returned to Vincennes and made these known to the Legislative Council, which body enacted such laws as were deemed necessary to meet the demands of the people on the west side of the Mississippi.

But the District of Louisiana was not long to continue as such, for, on the 3rd of March, 1805, it was, by an act of Congress, detached from Indiana and erected into the Territory of Louisiana with St. Louis as its capital. Its form of Government was similar in all respects to that of the Territory of Orleans. As such, it began its existence on the 4th day of July, 1805, when General James Wilkinson entered upon the duties of Governor, a position which he held until succeeded by Captain Meriwether Lewis. July 4, 1807, he having been appointed on the 3rd of the preceding March. He continued in office until October 11, 1809—the date of his tragic death—when Benjamin Howard became Governor, and as such served until Missouri Territory grew out of that of Louisiana, October 1, 1812.

Now, the United States was in possession of the Louisiana Purchase, the whole of which was under two territorial governments of the second class—those of Orleans and Louisiana. Both the French and Spanish sovereignties were gone and American laws and governmental institutions were taking root on the west side of the Mississippi. Thus was the navigation of the mighty river—the *Malbrancia* of the Mobilian nations, the *Misisipi* of the Algonquins, the *Michi Sepe* of the early writers, the *St. Louis* of the French, the *Palisado* of the Spanish, and the *Mississippi* of the Americans—become free indeed; and thus was the Louisiana Purchase which, for more than a century, had been a toy, a plaything, in the hands of those who sought to grasp it, become the property and integral part of a nation whose enterprise and liberal laws were to place it in the van of the foremost nations of the earth.

CHAPTER XV.

THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION—OTHER EXPLORATIONS IN THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

(In connection with this Chapter read Appendices "B," "C" and "D.")

At the close of the eighteenth century comparatively little was known of the geography of the western half of North America, especially of the region since called the Louisiana Purchase. But the lack of this information was not long to continue. On the 18th of January, 1803—one hundred and two days before Livingston and Monroe had concluded the treaty of Paris—Jefferson sent a confidential message to Congress. In this he referred to the recent occurrences on the Mississippi; to the absence of information regarding the region beyond that river; and how other civilized nations had incurred great expense to enlarge the boundaries of knowledge by undertaking voyages of discovery and journeys of exploration. Then he declared that it was in the powers of that body to increase the interests of commerce, and advance the geographical knowledge of our own continent. He stated further, that an intelligent officer with a small number of men adapted for that service, might explore the region west of the Mississippi, even to the western ocean. Con-



CAPTAIN MERIWETHER LEWIS.



LIEUTENANT WILLIAM CLARK.

gress viewed this recommendation with favor, and an appropriation of two thousand, five hundred dollars for equipment was made, "for the purpose of extending the external commerce of the United States."

The prosecution of this enterprise was left by Congress wholly in the hands of the President, who appointed his nephew and private secretary, Meriwether Lewis, a captain in the First Regiment of United States Regular Infantry, to the command of the expedition about to be undertaken. His instructions set forth that he was "appointed to explore the river Missouri to its source, and crossing the highlands by the shortest portage, to seek the best water communication to the Pacific Ocean." He was directed to select those whom he desired to accompany him and his first choice was that of William Clark, a second lieutenant of United States artillerists, and a brother of George Rogers Clark, the conqueror of the Illinois country, who is frequently called the "Hannibal of the West."

Captain Lewis left Washington City on Tuesday, the 5th day of July, 1803, and journeyed overland to Pittsburgh, and thence descended the Ohio River to Louisville, where he was joined by Lieutenant Clark, and together they proceeded to St. Louis, then a village but recently known as "Pain Court." Spain was still in full pos-

session of the Louisiana Purchase and Delassus, her Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Louisiana, whose capital was at St. Louis, would not, could not, permit a detachment of American troops to assemble within the dominions of his King. A spot was therefore selected on the Illinois side of the Mississippi, at the mouth of the little Wood River, a short distance below that of the Missouri, and to it was given the name of Camp Dubois. Here Lieutenant Clark assumed command while Captain Lewis visited Kaskaskia and other posts and selected the men who were to compose the expedition. All were assembled at Camp Dubois in the month of November and went into winter quarters, where long, dreary months were passed; but important events transpired in that time. On the 30th of November, Spain conveyed the Louisiana Purchase to France; December 20th, that nation transferred it to the United States; and on the 10th of March, 1804, Captain Lewis witnessed the surrender of St. Louis and its dependencies by Delassus to Captain Amos Stoddard, who received it for the United States.

In the early part of May, 1804, there were hurry and bustle at Camp Dubois. The expedition* was preparing

*OFFICIAL ROSTER OF THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION.

Meriwether Lewis, Captain, First United States Regular Infantry.

William Clark, Second Lieutenant, United States Artillerists.

John Ordway, Sergeant; Nathaniel Pryor, Sergeant; Charles Floyd, Sergeant; George Drewyer, Interpreter and hunter; Toussaint Chaboneau,

to move. There were two officers, fourteen regulars from the United States army, nine volunteers from Kentucky, one corporal and a guard of six soldiers, two interpreters, two French oarsmen, and nine boatmen, making forty-five in all. In addition there were an Indian woman, the wife of an interpreter, and a colored man named York, who was the body servant of Lieutenant Clark.

A barge, or keel-boat, fifty-five feet in length, with a square sail and twenty-two oars, two perogues, or open boats, one of six oars, the other of eight, and several canoes made up the little flotilla, lying at the water's edge. On board the barge were twenty-one bales and two boxes of goods for the use of the men and for presents for

Interpreter: Peter Crusate, French Oarsman; Francis Labiche, French Oarsman.

PRIVATES.—Patrick Gass, William Bratton, John Colter, John Collins, Reuben Fields, Joseph Fields, Robert Frazier, George Gibson, Silas Goodrich, Hugh Hall, Thomas P. Howard, Jean Baptiste Le Page, Hugh McNeal, John Potts, John Shields, George Shannon, John B. Thompson, William Werner, Joseph Whitehouse, Alexander Willard, Richard Windsor, Peter Wiser and John Newman. Se-Ca-Ja-Wea, Indian woman of the Snake nation, whose name signifies "bird-woman"; she was the wife of Chaboneau, the interpreter. York, the colored body servant of Lieutenant Clark.

In addition to these Richard Worfengton, a corporal in the United States army, with his guard of six soldiers, all of whose names are unknown, together with nine watermen or boatmen, names likewise unknown, accompanied the expedition up the Missouri.

The foregoing list of names is believed to be as accurate as any which has been or can be made. Names differ in different rosters. On some the names of Newman and Worfengton do not appear at all, but both were paid by Congress as enlisted men on the expedition. See Appendix "C." Then, too, there is great diversity in the spelling of names. Drewyer, on some lists, appears as Drulyard, while those of Chaboneau, Crusate, Labiche and others are spelled almost a dozen different ways by different authors, and frequently by the same author.

the Indians. There were two horses to be led along the river bank to be used in carrying in meat. Captain Lewis was the scientist of the expedition and Lieutenant Clark its military director.

At length all was in readiness, and at four o'clock on Monday evening, May 14, 1804, the expedition, with Lieutenant Clark in command, left Camp Dubois, crossed the Mississippi, entered the mouth of the Missouri, and began the voyage up the long and silent river toward the Rocky Mountains. Majestic river! the longest tributary stream on the globe! Who that has stood upon its banks has not, in thought, attempted to trace its immense length through distant regions to the stupendous mountains from which it springs!

In the afternoon of the 16th, they arrived at the old French town of St. Charles, where they fired a salute and the inhabitants, who had learned of the enterprise, flocked to the river to see the heroic men who thus dared the perils of a wilderness inhabited by wild beasts and savage men. Here they awaited the arrival of Captain Lewis, who had been detained at St. Louis perfecting arrangements with his agent, Captain Amos Stoddard, then in command at that place. They left here on the 21st under a salute of guns and three cheers from the inhabitants, and on the 25th passed the little village of St. John's, or



CAPT. LEWIS AND LIEUT. CLARK HOLDING A COUNCIL WITH THE INDIANS

Near the site of the present town of Council Bluffs, Iowa, August 3, 1804. (From Patrick Gass' Journal of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, page 26, edition of 1812.)

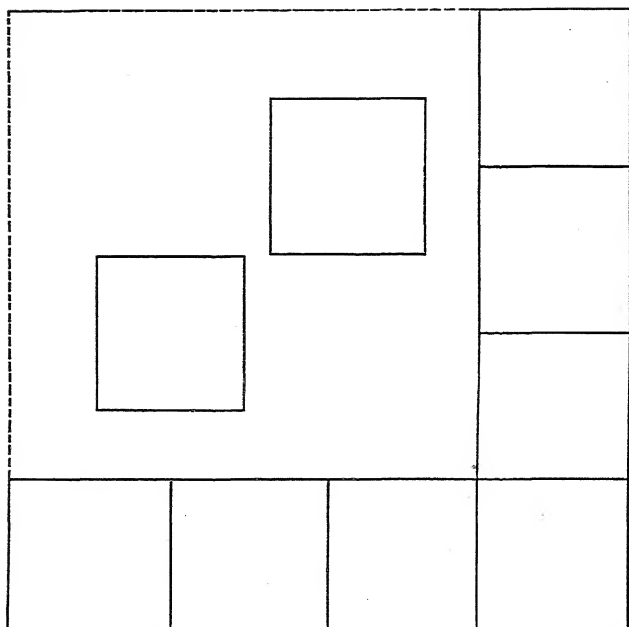
La Charette, then the most western outpost of civilization in the Missouri Valley. On the 27th they were at the mouth of the Gasconade River, one hundred miles from the Mississippi.

Onward the voyage continued ; on the first day of June they passed the mouth of the Osage, and on the 4th of the ensuing July their encampment was thirty miles above the mouth of the Kansas River, where they “fired a salute at sunrise in honor of the day”—the first celebration of the nation’s natal day within the bounds of the Louisiana Purchase. This day they passed two streams, to the first of which they gave the name of Fourth of July creek, while the second received that of Independence. In the evening they “saluted the departing day with another gun.” Seventeen days later they were on the site of Omaha, the present capital city of Nebraska, at the mouth of the Platte River. The first and second days of August were spent at Council Bluffs, where the officers held a council with the chiefs of the Missouri and Otoe nations. Captain Lewis informed them of the Louisiana Purchase and of the consequent change of Government, with both of which they expressed themselves as being much pleased.*

*The present town of Council Bluffs, in Pottawattamie county, Iowa, is some distance below where these historic incidents took place.

While encamped near the site of the present Sioux City, on the 20th of August, Sergeant Charles Floyd, of Kentucky, the youngest man on the expedition, died, "notwithstanding every possible effort was made by the commanding officers and other persons to save his life." His last words, addressed to Lieutenant Clark, were: "I am going away and I want you to write me a letter." He was buried with the honors of war "in the most decent manner our circumstances would admit," and a "cedar post bearing his name and date of death" fixed at the head of his grave, which was on the "high prairie hills" one mile below the mouth of Floyd's River, which they "named to perpetuate the memory of the first man who had fallen in this important expedition." Patrick Gass was that day appointed a sergeant as the successor of the lamented dead.

Ten days thereafter a treaty was concluded with the Sioux Indians, on which occasion several of the chiefs "had round their necks strings of white bears' claws, some of which were three inches long." Late in October they arrived in the country of the Mandan Indians and it was now evident that they must soon, very soon, go into winter quarters. A treaty was therefore concluded with these Indians. "To the United Mandan Nation" Captain Lewis gave an iron mill on which to grind their grain; to the



GROUND PLAN OF FORT MANDAN.

(After a description of the fort in Patrick Gass' Journal, page 61.)

chiefs various presents; and in return received ten bushels of corn with permission to spend the winter in their country. On the first day of November the weather was very cold and they encamped in "a bottom covered with cottonwood" on the north bank of the Missouri, about eight miles below the mouth of Knife River and a short distance above the site of the present town of Washburn, in McLean County, North Dakota. There their observation showed them to be sixteen hundred and ten miles from the mouth of the Missouri. Here they built Fort Mandan, a frail structure, which was completed on the 27th of November, on which day they moved into it, "just in time, for the snow fell seven inches deep that very night."*

Daily the Indians resorted to the fort to exchange meat, furs and peltries for such articles as the whites had to spare. But on the 24th of December Captain Clark informed them that the morrow was one of the "white man's great medicine days" and that they must not then come

*Fort Mandan consisted of two rows of cabins containing four rooms each, and joined at the ends so as to form a right angle. The outer walls were about eighteen feet high, while on the inside they were not more than ten; the roof was made of puncheons, or split plank, and sloped inward, shed-fashion, projecting over about a foot at each end, and were covered with clay and grass. Each room was fourteen by fourteen feet. The two sides opposite the rows of cabins were protected by pickets or palisades and in the yard, or court, two cabins were erected to contain the provisions and stores. It was in latitude 40°, 21', 47" north, and in longitude 99°, 24', 45" west from Greenwich.

to the fort. The order was obeyed and the result was a quiet Christmas day, which was ushered in by the discharge of the swivel and a volley of small arms. Then the American flag was hoisted over the little fort, where it was greeted with rounds of cheers. It was the first time the stars and stripes were ever unfurled in the Valley of the Upper Missouri.

The long winter passed away and brought the early days of April, 1805. The north wind ceased to blow; the sun shone brightly; the birds sang sweetly; the buds were bursting into life and everything betokened the return of spring. All was activity at Fort Mandan and on Sunday morning, April 7, 1805, the barge, or keel-boat, was made ready for the descent of the Missouri. It was freighted with the richest furs, buffalo-robcs, peltries and horns of the mountain sheep. Captain Lewis sent to Henry Dearborn, the Secretary of War, a map of the Missouri—the first ever made of that river—showing each day's encampment. To the President he sent a part of Lieutenant Clark's journal, which gave daily details of the progress of the expedition; with sixty specimens of earth's salts and minerals, and the same number of plants collected along the Missouri, with places where found and virtues and properties when known. Many of the party wrote letters to distant friends in the States, and Captain Lewis

sent an official communication to the President, which, on its receipt, was, by him, laid before Congress. These things were placed in the keeping of Corporal Richard Worfengton, who was in command of the barge. They were consigned to Captain Amos Stoddard at St. Louis, who forwarded them to H. B. Trist, collector of the port of New Orleans, who in turn sent them by ocean conveyance to Washington City. Thirteen men went on board, and with Joseph Graveline, a Frenchman, as pilot, the descent of the river to St. Louis began.

At five o'clock in the evening of that 7th of April day the entire party numbering thirty-one men and the Indian wife of Charboneau "left Fort Mandan in good spirits," in which they had spent one hundred and thirty-one days, and in the two perogues brought from the mouth of the Missouri and six canoes, they resumed the voyage up that river. On the 26th they were at the mouth of the Yellowstone River, in what is now the extreme western part of North Dakota, eighteen hundred and eighty-eight miles from the mouth of the Missouri, and two hundred and seventy-eight above Fort Mandan. Onward they pressed and on the 20th of May they were at the mouth of Muscle Shell River. Thirteen days thereafter they passed the mouth of Maria's River, and on the 22nd of June, after passing through a wild and romantic region, had

arrived at the Great Falls of the Missouri, where they were transporting their canoes and baggage around that awful scene of plunging waters and rushing cataracts, of deep abysses and frightful chasms, around which the frowning mountains had an aspect of inexpressible loneliness and gloom bordering on the sublime. In a few days they had passed the torrent of rushing waters which extends over seventeen miles of the river's course, and were engaged in an effort to cover with elk-skins the iron framework of a boat which was twenty-six feet long, five and a half feet in the beam, and twenty-six inches in the bottom, and which had been constructed at Harper's Ferry, West Virginia, and taken by Captain Lewis by the way of Pittsburg for the purpose for which it was now to be used.

A few days later they passed up the Missouri within fifteen miles of the site of Helena, the present capital of Montana, and on the 30th of July arrived at "The Forks," now the town of Gallatin, where the Jefferson, Gallatin and Madison Rivers unite to form the Missouri. Their voyage continued up the first named river beyond Three Thousand Mile Island, where they buried their perogues and canoes and having procured horses from the Snake Indians, they followed on to the head of the river, and on the 19th of August passed over the Great Rocky Moun-



CAPTAIN MERIWETHER LEWIS IN INDIAN COSTUME.

tain Divide to the source of the Columbia, where "starvation seemed to be the genius of the place." Ranges of towering mountains covered with everlasting snow spread out in one grand panorama before them. There, because of the glistening and glittering light produced by the dazzling rays of the sun falling on the snows of these mountain peaks, the Indians had given to all the region round about the name of E-dee-hoh, signifying "the light on the mountains," and from which has been derived the pretty name of a Rocky Mountain State.

Onward pressed these determined men through the scenes of desolation, until on the 24th of September they arrived at the confluence of the north and south forks of the Clearwater, or Kooskooskee River. There they constructed canoes and leaving their horses to be cared for by a chief of the Flat-Head Indians, they resumed navigation. The rapid currents of the Kooskooskee and then of the Lewis, or Snake River, bore them on until on the 16th of October they reached the Great Columbia. For seven days they rowed their canoes over the broad reaches of the sweeping river; then passed its Great Falls and, on the second day of November, for the first time, observed the ebbing and flowing of the tide. The next day from the mouth of Quicksand River they saw the gray outlines of old Mount Hood forty-seven miles away. In the

morning of the 7th of November, 1805, they were in an estuary and beheld the turbulent waters lashed into fury by a prevailing tempest. This drove them ashore and at mid-day the fog, which had rested on the surface of the waters, rose, and there was "great joy in camp; we are in view of the ocean which we have been so long anxious to see, and the roaring of the waves breaking on rocky shores may be heard distinctly; all are delighted on hearing the distant roar of the breakers." They had entered the bay at the mouth of the Columbia, where it is six miles wide. The broad Pacific lay spread out before them, while at their backs frowned the towering mountains, whose fastnesses they had dared and whose secrets they had learned. They were now at the end of their journey and had accomplished the object of the expedition—that of discovering a passage way from the Mississippi, by way of the Missouri and Columbia, to the Pacific Ocean. This had been done notwithstanding the dangers and privations which they had to encounter, endure, and surmount. They had been eighteen months on the journey, and by the winding courses of the streams which they had followed, had traveled four thousand, one hundred and fifty-two miles.

President Jefferson had given Captain Lewis orders that when on the Pacific Coast, if he deemed it dangerous

to return over the same route by which they had gone out, to bring the expedition home by sea, either by way of Cape Horn or by that of the Cape of Good Hope. If by the latter route he was to apply for money, clothing or provision to Thomas Hughes, Consul of the United States at Batavia in Java; or to John Elmslie, occupying a similar position at the Cape of Good Hope, that is, at Cape Town. But Captain Lewis, after advising with Lieutenant Clark and the other men of the expedition, saw no reason why they might not return by way of the Columbia and Missouri. A winter was to be spent on the shore of the Pacific and the explorers selected a site on the banks of the little Netul River, three miles from Meriwether Bay and seven from the ocean, and there erected a temporary structure which received the name of Fort Clatsop, it being in the vicinity of an Indian nation of that name. There they spent the winter, which was almost totally devoid of incident, but during which they preserved meat and made a considerable quantity of salt.

There they remained one hundred and thirty-six days, on every one of which, except twelve, rain fell; and then, at one o'clock on the afternoon of the 23rd of March, 1806, Fort Clatsop was abandoned and the voyage up the Columbia began—all homeward bound! On the 10th of May they were again on the Kooskooskee River—now in west-

ern Idaho. Here they left their canoes and having received their horses from the old chief in whose custody they had placed them the preceding year, they began the overland journey. On the 17th of June the cavalcade of sixty-six horses, without a guide, attempted to pass a mountain range. Half way up the snow was three feet deep, and when near the summit it was found to be from twelve to fifteen feet in depth, but it generally bore the horses. "Here there was not the appearance of a green shrub nor anything for the horses to subsist upon." Further progress was impossible and they "turned back, melancholy and disappointed, and encamped on Hungry Creek at the base of the mountain." With a guide their journey was resumed several days later, the range was crossed, and on the 30th of June all reached Clark's River. There a separation took place, and Lieutenant Clark with a number of men ascended that stream, and after exploring several passes through the mountains, crossed over and explored the region around the headwaters of the Yellowstone and upper tributaries of the Missouri. Captain Lewis, with the remainder of the party, descended the river twelve miles and then proceeded up its north fork, called by the Indians *Is-quet-co-qual-la*, signifying "the way to the Buffalo," its course being nearly a direct line to the Great Falls of the Missouri. On the 10th of July the mountains were covered with snow which had

fallen the preceding night. On the next day Captain Lewis and party reached the Missouri, on which stream, near the mouth of the Yellowstone, on the 12th of August, all were soon happily reunited and began the descent of the river. The voyage was uneventful. Fort Mandan was in ruins. Sergeant Floyd's grave had been partly opened by Indians and they filled it again. On the evening of the 20th of September they heard the crowing of the chanticleer; saw some cows quietly grazing on the river's bank; and then, suddenly, the little village of St. John's appeared in view. A volley was fired and three cheers given; then the inhabitants rushed to the river to welcome back the men whom they had long given up as dead. The night of the 21st was spent at St. Charles, where they were the recipients of every act of hospitality which the inhabitants could bestow. Within three miles of the mouth of the river Captain Hunt was encamped with a company of United States artillerists. He received these explorers from the Pacific Ocean with a salute from his guns, and to this they replied with a volley of small arms. There they spent the night, the guests of the commanding officer, and at twelve o'clock, noon, on Tuesday, September 23, 1806, they arrived at St. Louis, where all the people turned out to welcome them back to civilization, beyond the confines of which they had been absent two years, four months and nineteen days. They had found

their way through the trackless wastes of the great Northwest down to the Pacific Ocean. But the results of their toils and privations were not seen at once. Fifty years afterward, when every member of that heroic band, save one,* was dead, a living stream of men crossed the Louisiana Purchase and poured down into the valleys of Oregon and California, and the whitening sails of commerce covered the bays and harbors of their coasts. Lewis and Clark, with their companions, had pioneered the way for the founders of Missouri Valley, Rocky Mountain, and Pacific Coast States.

OTHER EXPLORATIONS.

During the absence of the Lewis and Clark expedition the United States Government prosecuted other exploration in different parts of the Louisiana Purchase. On the

*Patrick Gass, the last survivor of the Lewis and Clark expedition, was born June 12, 1771, in Cumberland county, Pennsylvania. Soon after, the family removed to Maryland, but shortly returned to Pennsylvania. When but a boy he entered the army, and when not on the march or scouting, he was engaged in garrison duty in the forts on the upper Ohio. The United States, in 1799, in anticipation of war with France, enlisted troops for the army. Patrick Gass enrolled himself as a member of the 10th regiment, which spent the winter of 1799 in camp at Harper's Ferry, West Virginia. In 1802 he served in an expedition up the Tennessee river, and the next year in the artillery of Captain Bissell at Kaskaskia, Illinois. There he enlisted as a member of the expedition, then fitting out to explore the Pacific Coast. In 1812 he entered the army again and participated in the battles of Chippewa, Lundy's Lane and Fort Erie. In 1831 he married a lady in Brooke county—now West Virginia—and there continued to reside until his death, in 1870, then in the ninety-ninth year of his age. He kept an accurate and elaborate journal of the expedition which was published in Pittsburg in 1807 and reprinted in Philadelphia in 1812.



*Yours as
Patrick Gass,*

The last survivor of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

(From an ambrotype made at Wellsburg, W. Va., about 1850, and used by J. G. Jacobs as a frontispiece in his "Life and Times of Patrick Gass.")

18th of February, 1804, Nicholas P. Moore, member of Congress from Maryland, offered a resolution in the House of Representatives directing the Committee on Commerce and Manufactures to "inquire into the expediency of authorizing the President of the United States to employ persons to explore such parts of the Province of Louisiana as he may think proper." This resolution declared that "the Government is not in possession of a good geographical description of Louisiana, which it is desirable to possess; that much of its limits "are not completely designated in the articles of cession;" and that "the time may not be far distant when its boundaries may be the subject of negotiations between the former owners of the Province and the United States."

The committee considered this resolution and through its chairman, Samuel T. Mitchell, of New York, made extended report thereon, March, 8, 1804. It set forth that the Government should possess correct information regarding its new dominions, in which there were vast tracts in "original obscurity;" that the "Red River is reported to be navigable for boats a thousand miles beyond Natchitoches; and that it flows "through a country abounding in rich pastures where neat cattle and horses range in innumerable herds as free as the natural inhabitants;" that "masses of virgin silver and gold that glitter in the

veins of the rocks that underlie the Arkansas River, and mingle with minerals near certain other of its tributary streams, offer themselves to the hand of those who will gather, refine and convert them to use;" that "the sources of these two rivers should be reached and the latitude and longitude of the same determined;" that "the pathless forests might be advantageously penetrated along the channels of these two rivers by intelligent men sent to visit them;" and that "an expedition of discovery up these prodigious rivers and their branches might redound as much to the honor and more to the interest of our Government than the voyages by sea around the terraqueous globe have done for the polished nations of Europe that authorized them."

The report met with favor and further exploration was authorized. In the autumn of 1804, Sir William Dunbar, an Englishman who had settled at Baton Rouge in 1775, at the time of the British rule in West Florida, was engaged by the American Government in the exploration of the Red River country. With a small party he left St. Catherine's Landing, on the Mississippi, eighteen miles below Natchez, on the 16th of October, 1804, and on the 17th the mouth of the Red River was reached. This stream they ascended to that of Black River and then traversed the country to old Fort Miro on the Wichita,

which river derived its name from an Indian nation once residing on its banks. There Baron Bastrop had a settlement which at this time contained about four hundred people—men, women and children. High up that river they found an old Dutch hunter who had resided there more than forty years, and who knew and could tell them of all the country round about. On the 10th day of December the party arrived at the now famous Hot Springs of Arkansas, where they found “an open log cabin and a few board huts of split boards all calculated for summer encampment, and which had been erected by persons resorting to the springs for their health.” There Dunbar made the first scientific observation on these waters, and did much to start for them their world-wide celebrity. Further exploration of the Wichita Valley was made and then the party returned to St. Catherine’s Landing on the 31st of the ensuing January.

In 1805, Lieutenant Zebulon Pike arrived at St. Louis, and on the 9th of August with a party left that place to explore the sources of the Mississippi. Late in the autumn of that year he reached the mouth of Crow Wing River, where he established his winter quarters. Journeys on snowshoes were made from here to Leech Lake and other points. At this time he obtained from the Sioux Indians a grant of land nine miles square including the

Falls of St. Anthony, where the Fifth United States Infantry built Fort Snelling in 1819, and the site on which the city of St. Paul, the capital of Minnesota, now stands. Pike returned to St. Louis in 1806 and there spent the summer making preparations for an extensive tour of exploration, which included the finding of the sources of the Arkansas and Red Rivers and the descent of the latter to New Orleans. Leaving St. Louis in the autumn he ascended the Missouri to the mouth of the Osage; thence proceeding up that river and over the Kansas plains, entirely across the Louisiana Purchase, he reached the mountains of Colorado, where his name is perpetuated in that of Pike's Peak. Turning southward, he traveled around the source of the Arkansas River but discovered that of the Canadian, its chief tributary. Then he sought to find the fountain spring of the Red River and in his efforts to do this traversed mighty mountain ranges. But again he missed the object of his search and, at length, found himself on the upper waters of the Rio Grande in Northern New Mexico. There he established his winter quarters and there, in the spring of 1807 he was visited by a detachment of Spanish soldiers from Santa Fe, who told him that the commandant of that place had heard of his presence in the country, and, feeling sure that he desired to descend the Red River instead of the Rio

Grande, had sent them to escort him by way of Santa Fe to Natchitoches, whence he could easily reach New Orleans, according to his original plan. This proffered kindness Pike gladly accepted. Imagine his surprise, then, on his arrival at Santa Fe, to find himself a prisoner arrested on the charge of having invaded the Spanish dominions! From here the commandant sent him to the Governor-General of Chihuahua, who, after having heard his story of how he had been lost in the mountains, caused him to be taken under escort to San Antonio de Bexar, in Texas, whence he made his way to the United States.

Thus through the efforts of Lewis and Clark, Dunbar and Pike, the geography of the Louisiana Purchase began to be made known.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE BURR-BLENNERHASSETT CONSPIRACY—THE BEGIN-
NINGS OF LITERATURE IN THE LOUISIANA
PURCHASE—MISCELLANY.

It is not the intention to review that remarkable episode in American history known as the Burr-Blennerhassett Conspiracy, but rather to speak of it only in its connection with the "Story of the Louisiana Purchase."

Aaron Burr, one of the most singular characters whose name appears in American annals, had won distinction in war and had often been honored with the confidence of the people. In the year 1800 he and Thomas Jefferson were candidates for the presidency; each had seventy-three electoral votes and the election was thrown into the House of Representatives, where, on the thirty-sixth ballot, Jefferson was chosen President by a majority of one vote, while Burr was elected to the Vice-Presidency. His course was unsatisfactory to his political party, and, seeing that he could not attain the presidency in 1804, he became a candidate for Governor of New York, but was defeated for this office by Morgan Lewis. The campaign was an exciting one and in the heat of it Burr killed



Harry Blackwelder



A. B. Cooper

THE WOULD-BE FOUNDERS OF A GREAT SOUTHWEST EMPIRE.

Alexander Hamilton in a duel. Returning to Washington in the autumn of that year he presided over the ensuing session of the Senate which closed on the 4th of March, 1805.

Then, ruined politically and socially, he turned his attention to the West and became an adventurer. His ambition was strong and far-reaching and his schemes were those of wealth, conquest and distinction. His chief associate and confederate in the enterprise was Harman Blennerhassett, a representative of a distinguished Irish family, but who was born in Hampshire County, England, during the temporary residence of his parents in that country. There he began his education but was graduated from the University of Dublin after which he entered the profession of law. In England he wedded Margaret Agnew, a daughter of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Isle of Man and a granddaughter of General Agnew, who was with Wolf at Quebec. Soon after he sold his extensive estates in Ireland and sailed for America, landing in New York. In 1797 he crossed the mountains and halted at Marietta, Ohio. The next year he purchased the beautiful island in the Ohio River, two miles below Parkersburg, West Virginia, and fourteen below Marietta, which has ever since borne his name. There he erected a palatial mansion—the best home on the borders of civiliza-

tion at that time. To it he brought a library of choice and valuable works, with chemical and physical apparatus for his own pleasure and self-improvement. Possessed of an ample fortune to supply every want, his wife, a woman of rare beauty and accomplishments, of high spirits and ambition, and with lovely children, he was surrounded with everything that can make life desirable and happy.

Let us notice briefly what was then known as the "Western Country," which then had nearly a million inhabitants. The State of Kentucky had been a member of the Union for more than twelve years; Tennessee for nearly nine, and Ohio for little more than two. Virginia stretched away to the Ohio River and included the present state of West Virginia. Mississippi Territory had been erected in 1798; the Territory of Indiana, then including the "Illinois Country," formed in 1800; the Louisiana Purchase had been the property of the United States less than two years, but from it the Territory of Orleans had been formed eight months before when the residue of the Purchase had been attached to Indiana Territory. Far away to the southwest, beyond the Louisiana Purchase and a thousand miles from the Mississippi lay a vast and wealthy empire—Mexico—governed by tyrants whom the people hated and defended by troops whom soldiers should despise. For years the riches of that country had been

the theme of travelers, and its mines, which were inexhaustible, had flooded the treasury of Spain with gold. Now, a bold adventurer, commanding an army of Anglo-Saxon soldiers, could easily conquer that empire and make it his own.

Somehow, somewhere in this western and southwestern country, Burr resolved to retrieve his fortunes, to attain distinction and power, and thus find an opportunity for triumphing over his once-admiring but now political enemies. Leaving Washington he proceeded to Pittsburg. There, in April, he procured a boat in which he floated down the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans. At Cincinnati, Lexington, Louisville, Nashville and many other places he was received with enthusiastic attention; he stopped at Blennerhassett's Island; at Fort Massac, in the Illinois Country, he had an interview with General Wilkinson, with whom he had stood side by side in Montgomery's attack on Quebec, who was then commanding the Western Military Department of the United States, and who, on the 4th of July of this year began his administration as Governor of Louisiana Territory, just then arisen out of the District of Louisiana. To him he confided so far as to tell him of his proposed plans and solicit his participation therein. Wilkinson sent him in a government boat, under escort, to New Orleans, where he arrived in June.

Burr, never idle, busied himself while in the Crescent City with the consideration of plans for future activity. Three schemes appear to have presented themselves, as follows:

First—The mustering of an army and the invasion and conquest of Mexico.

Second—The separation of the States and Territories west of the Allegheny Mountains from the Union, and the formation of a new republic of which New Orleans should be the capital.

Third—In event of the failure of both these measures, the purchase of a great landed estate on the Wichita, in the Territory of New Orleans. It consisted of nearly a million acres which had been granted, previously, by the King of Spain to Baron Bastrop. The seat of this estate was the old Spanish Fort Miro where dwelt, as we have seen, a population of four hundred people. There Burr contemplated the establishment of a colony of wealthy and intelligent individuals, where he might gather around him a society remarkable for its elegance and refinement. But the second and third of these schemes were to be subsidiary to the first.

At New Orleans he met David Clark, who had been the United States Consul at that city in the latter years of the Spanish dominion. He had assisted Laussat in preserving

order there during the twenty days, in 1803, intervening between the surrender of the Louisiana Purchase to France and its transfer by the latter country to the United States. Clark was so incensed against the Spaniards because of the closing of the Port of Deposit at New Orleans against the Americans, in 1802, that Burr easily enlisted him in his enterprise.

Returning up the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers to Pittsburgh, Burr proceeded to Washington City, where he spent the winter. All that he had said and done will never be known. Of the three schemes mentioned, he spoke of the one most popular and therefore most likely to secure co-operation. He led those with whom he conversed to believe that there would be a war with Spain, and this of all things he most earnestly desired, for it would furnish a safe pretext for invading Mexico; that that country would be invaded and Texas, if nothing more, conquered; that an organization known as the Mexican Association, in New Orleans, desired him to lead them against New Spain—an honor which he had declined; that he sought no office within the United States; that a large majority of the people of Mississippi and Orleans Territories were disaffected toward the Federal Government; that the people of New Orleans were disgusted with American rule; that a revolt would take place and that

the States and Territories west of the Alleghenies would separate from the Atlantic States. But he persisted in saying that he had no interest in these things farther than in a speculative way. He stopped at Blennerhassett's Island on his way up the Ohio but did not see the proprietor because of his absence in New York. For this reason, he, in December, wrote Blennerhassett a flattering letter, in which he referred to his talents as deserving a higher place and suggested that he ought to engage in that which "might increase his fortune and render himself a more important individual to society." Blennerhassett was much pleased and replied to this letter desiring "to be admitted into a participation in any speculation which might present itself to Burr's judgment as worthy to engage his talents." This meant, as Blennerhassett afterward explained, "not only a commercial enterprise or land purchase, but a military venture as well."

Let us briefly notice the southwest border in the year 1806, at which time trouble existed between the United States and Spain growing out of the dispute regarding the boundary between the Territory of Orleans and the Province of Texas, the latter then a part of New Spain. The Spanish army on the Texan frontier was commanded by General Simon de Herrera, who sent detachments into the region east of the Sabine claimed by the United States

as the boundary line between the two countries; occupied the old French town of Bayou Pierre on Red River; arrested American citizens and sent them under military escort to be confined at San Antonio and in other Texan jails; drove back the American exploring expedition under Freeman when ascending the Red River in the interest of geography and science, and acting under orders from the President of the United States. And Spanish soldiers had cut down the stars and stripes in the chief town of the Caddoe Indians, who had hoisted the American flag in evidence of their allegiance to the United States Government. When these things were known at Washington City, President Jefferson ordered General Wilkinson to send the regulars to the Sabine frontier. The advance was made under Colonel Thomas H. Cushing, who, on his arrival at Natchitoches, wrote General Herrera, under date of August 5th, demanding that he withdraw the Spanish troops from the east side of the Sabine River, and added that, after this warning, should these troops continue within the territory of the United States, "it will be my duty to consider you as an invader of our territory and act accordingly." To this Herrera replied the next day, saying: "It is true that I have crossed the Sabine River with a detachment of troops belonging to the King with orders from the Captain-General. * * * I hold

myself responsible * * * to the orders that govern me, and if your Excellency makes any infringement, you alone will be answerable."

On the 26th of August, Claiborne, the Governor of the Territory of Orleans, wrote Herrera, charging him, among other things, with the invasion of American territory, the arrest of citizens of the United States and the destruction of the stars and stripes, and saying: "If the officers of Spain persist in these aggressions, your Excellency will readily anticipate the consequences; and if the sword must be drawn, let those be responsible whose unfriendly conduct has rendered it indispensable." This communication was sent by Colonel Henry Hopkins, the Adjutant-General of the Territory of Orleans. Herrera made a reply to this two days later, in which he admitted all the charges made by Claiborne and closed with the declaration that: "If I am provoked to it, I shall endeavor to preserve the honor of my troops, and to fulfil the obligation with which I am invested." Claiborne now sent a second communication in which he demanded, in the name of the American Government, the release of its citizens confined at San Antonio, and declared that, if driven to it "by the unjust aggressions of the forces of his Catholic Majesty, the troops of the United States will endeavor to maintain their own and their country's honor."

President Jefferson was kept advised of these conditions, and General Wilkinson was ordered to call on the Territories of Mississippi and Orleans for a corps of five hundred volunteer cavalry* and hasten to the frontier. This he did and established his headquarters at Natchitoches. From there on the 24th of September he wrote Antonio Cordero, the Spanish Governor of Texas, and after reviewing the acts of the Spaniards in occupying the country east of the Sabine, closed by saying: "I owe it to my own fame and to the national character to warn you that the ultimate decision of the competent authority has been taken, that my orders are absolute, and my determination fixed to assert and (under God) to sustain the jurisdiction of the United States to the Sabine River against any force which may be opposed to me." Such was the threatening attitude of affairs existing on the Sabine frontier in the autumn of 1806, when a clash of arms and a consequent war between the two nations were imminent at any moment.

Meantime, it was a busy year for Burr, who, by correspondence and through his agents, who were to cast their fortunes with his, actively promoted his schemes in

*These troops were immediately enlisted, and Jefferson in his message to Congress, December 2d, 1806, said of them: "The method in which they responded did honor to themselves and entitled them to the confidence of their fellow-citizens in every part of the Union."

the West. Writing Blennerhassett under date of April 15, 1806, he referred to the purchase of lands in the Southwest and then mentioned another enterprise, of which he said: "No occupation which will not take you off the continent can interfere with that which I have to propose." This was the formation of a Southwest Empire of which he should be the head. Napoleon was, at that very moment, erecting on the ruins of a monarchy out of which had grown a temporary republic, an empire as vast as the European continent. Why not Burr do this in America? This was his hope, his ambition. His military genius, his greed for power and fame were all aflame, and he was dreaming of the time, as he thought, so near at hand when he should be the sovereign of a new and mighty domain. He would cross the Alleghenies; descend the Ohio; make Blennerhassett Island the rallying point; gather the malcontents, the disaffected, the chivalrous and adventurous; organize an army; proceed down the Mississippi; occupy New Orleans; muster an insurrectionary army in the Lower Mississippi Valley; march to the western boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, where a state of war then almost existed; cross the Sabine River into Mexico, or, if aided by the British fleet, land at Vera Cruz; conquer the provinces in detail; incite the inhabitants to war against their rulers; enter

the City of Mexico, drive out the Spanish officials, and as monarch of the conquered country seat himself on the ancient throne of the Montezumas. Then, to this he would annex the Mississippi Valley States and Territories, and thus establish a great and glorious empire stretching away from the Alleghenies to the Pacific, of which the Louisiana Purchase, in which the germs of republican government were but beginning to be planted, was to be a part. Such was the dream of Burr in the spring of 1806.

But, alas! how delusive is hope! He "had touched the full meridian of glory" and was now "hastening to his setting." He "had trod the ways of glory and sounded the depths and shoals of honor," and now he turned his exhaustless energies to the West. From Philadelphia, in July, 1806, with the enthusiasm of a conqueror, he wrote a lengthy cipher-letter to General Wilkinson. This contained important details; it declared that the necessary funds were obtained; that the enterprise had actually commenced; that Burr would go to the Ohio in August; that the protection of England was secured and that an agent had gone to Jamaica to arrange with the British admiral on that station; that the fleet would meet the land forces on the Mississippi; that the detachments would rendezvous on the Ohio about the first of

November; that the boats would be at the Falls of the Ohio on the 5th with the first five hundred or one thousand men and that "it will be a host of choice spirits;" that they would arrive at Natchez from the 5th to the 15th of December; "that the people of the country to which we are going are prepared to receive us;" that if "we will protect their religion" and not subject them to a foreign power all will be settled in three weeks; that Wilkinson will be second to Burr only; and that "The gods invite to glory and fortune."

This letter was entrusted to Samuel Swartwout, one of Burr's faithful lieutenants, who left Philadelphia and journeyed to Pittsburg, whence he proceeded to St. Louis where he expected to find General Wilkinson, then the Governor of the Territory of Louisiana. In this he was disappointed, and procuring a skiff he descended the Mississippi to Natchez, where he learned that the commanding officer whom he sought was with the army on the Sabine frontier, his headquarters being at Natchitoches on Red River. Thither he journeyed overland, almost across the Louisiana Purchase, and on the 8th of October delivered the letter. Wilkinson deciphered this. In it Burr had said of the bearer: "He is thoroughly informed of the plans * * * he may be embarrassed in your presence; put him at ease and he will satisfy you." This

Wilkinson did and Swartwout told him that Burr's army, then being collected in the western States and Territories, would be thoroughly armed; would number seven thousand men, and that these were being mustered for the purpose of invading the provinces of Mexico; that boats were being built on the Allegheny and Ohio; that Major Tyler would command those from the first named river and that five hundred men would be on them; that the expedition to Mexico would be organized and equipped at New Orleans.

Again Burr was at Pittsburg, whence he descended the Ohio and early in August arrived at Blennerhassett's Island. Here was discussed the "colossal scheme." Blennerhassett heard of it in detail; he was a lover of freedom, and when Burr painted for him a word picture of Mexico redeemed from tyranny by their united efforts, "his whole nature was inspired and he entered enthusiastically upon the undertaking, which he regarded as honorable and humane." Both engaged energetically in the work before them. Blennerhassett was a member of the firm of Dudley, Woodbridge & Co., boat builders of Marietta, Ohio, and Woodbridge visited the island, where he learned the character of the boats desired. Then Burr and Blennerhassett went to Marietta, where a contract was made for the construction of fifteen boats, ten of

which were to have flat bottoms, to be forty feet long, ten wide, and two and a half deep; four were to be fifty feet in length, one of which was to be fitted with cabins; another was to be sixty feet in length, to be used for carrying provisions; the whole fleet was to carry five hundred men. Light boats to convey a similar number were to be constructed on the Allegheny, while six were to be built at Nashville on the Cumberland River. Blennerhassett assumed the payment for the boats and for the stores as well.

From Marietta Burr set out for Chillicothe, whence, after a short sojourn he went to Cincinnati, thence to Indiana, Tennessee and Kentucky—everywhere seeking aid and enlisting recruits. In the latter State, on the 6th of November, 1806, Burr was arrested on the affidavit of J. H. Daviess, the United States District Attorney, charging him “with being engaged in preparation for a military invasion of the provinces of Mexico.” He demanded an immediate trial but this he could not get until the second of December, when he was defended by Henry Clay and acquitted for want of evidence, when, at the same time he had men under arms in the Ohio Valley and boats were being built and freighted for the very purposes of which he had been accused. This acquittal was greatly to his advantage, for it produced a popular

impression in his favor and a general disbelief in his guilt. From Lexington he hastened to Nashville to look after his interests on the Cumberland. While in Kentucky at this time he was visited by Blennerhassett and the Bastrop lands were purchased from an agent named Lynch, the consideration being forty thousand dollars, of which sum five thousand dollars were paid. Henceforth, they declared that the object of the expedition was to settle these lands. It is believed that this purchase was intended as a place of rendezvous and of retreat in case of final discomfiture in the undertaking. In the event of success, they were to be used for bounty lands, one hundred acres being promised to each recruit.

In the meantime the Government was not ignorant of existing conditions in the West, for early in the year Jefferson was in receipt of such information as convinced him of "the beginning of this scene of depravity so far as it has been enacted on the Ohio and its waters." But the mass of what he had received was chiefly in the form of letters written by persons from all over the western country "often containing such a mixture of rumors, conjectures and suspicions, as made it difficult to sift out the real facts," and much of this correspondence was received under the restriction of private confidence. But, at length, enough was at hand to convince the President that

"designs were in agitation in the western country unlawful and unfriendly to the Union, and that the prime mover in these was Aaron Burr, heretofore distinguished by the favor of his country." Jefferson, therefore, speedily began an investigation. He appointed John Graham,* Secretary of the Territory of Orleans, as the secret agent of the Government to discover the extent of the conspiracy. He had instructions "to spy out and investigate the plot hostile to the national interests. * * * To enter into conference with the civil and military authorities in the West, and with their aid to discover the designs of the supposed conspirators, and to bring the offenders to punishment when he should have fully ascertained their intentions." Graham began his investigations at New Orleans and then ascended the Mississippi to St. Louis, whence he proceeded to Fort Massac, Nashville, Louisville, Lexington, Cincinnati and arrived at Marietta, Ohio, on the 15th of November. Here he fixed his headquarters and made extended observations, visiting Colonel Hugh Phelps at Parkersburg, and John and Alex-

*John Graham, who did so much to detect and expose Burr's enterprise, was a Virginian by birth, born at Dumfries, Prince William County, that State, in 1774. He received an excellent home training and graduated from Columbia College in 1790. He then settled in Kentucky, where he represented Lewis County in the Legislature of that State. In 1805 Jefferson appointed him Secretary of the Territory of Orleans. He was afterwards Secretary of the American Legation in Spain; then on special mission to Buenos Ayres; and in 1817, was minister to Portugal. He died in Washington City, August 6th, 1820.

ander Henderson at their home, "Beech Park," on the banks of the Little Kanawha, all in Wood County, West Virginia, and almost in sight of Blennerhassett's Island. At a hotel in Marietta he had a lengthy conversation with Blennerhassett, whom he had met in Kentucky five years before. Graham's policy was to prevent rather than to punish, and when he found him laboring under a delusion and completely under the influence of Burr, he told him of the treasonable designs of his leader and urged him to withdraw from the enterprise. Blennerhassett asked Graham if he had not heard of an association in New Orleans for the invasion of Mexico, and expressed much surprise when informed by him that no such organization existed. He admitted that the boats being built and freighted at the mouth of the Muskingum were designed for the expedition, and declared the enterprise to be a legal one and that he would have on board from sixty to one hundred men, and that if molested the insult should be repelled with the rifles with which they were to provide themselves. Graham replied by saying that the constituted authorities of the country would be expected, on the part of the general government, to stop his boats if they carried an unusual number of men and in an unusual manner. Sixteen boats with one hundred men, without families but all well armed, were to leave Marietta.

Graham and others had kept Jefferson fully advised of the condition of affairs in the West, and he now declared that Burr had but one purpose; that he had found the attachment of the people of the western country to the Union too strong to be shaken; and that his real and primary object was "to sieze New Orleans, plunder the bank there, possess himself of the military and naval stores, and then proceed on his expedition to Mexico." Burr had counted far too confidently on the co-operation of Wilkinson, who avers that he told Swartwout, when he delivered Burr's letter to him at Natchitoches, that he could not dishonor his commission by being an accomplice. At the same time he sent a messenger to General Harrison, then Governor of Indiana Territory, giving him the details of Burr's expedition and requesting him to watch the Ohio River therefor; and at once prepared a letter containing the substance of that received from Burr and of the statements of its bearer, and dispatched an officer with it to Jefferson. The messenger bearing the communication to the President left Natchitoches on the 21st of October and arrived at Washington City on the 25th of November, having been thirty-five days on the journey. Two days later, the President issued a Proclamation, in which he declared that "Sundry persons, citizens of the United States * * * are conspiring and con-

federating together * * * to provide and prepare the means for a military expedition or enterprise against the dominions of Spain; that for this purpose they are fitting out and arming vessels on the western waters of the United States * * * are deceiving and seducing honest and well-meaning citizens, under various pretences, to engage in this enterprise. * * * I have thought fit, therefore, to issue my Proclamation, warning and enjoining all faithful citizens to withdraw from the said unlawful enterprise, as they will incur prosecution with all the rigors of the law; and I hereby enjoin and require all officers of the law, civil and military, of the United States or of any of the States or Territories * * * to be vigilant in searching out and bringing to condign punishment all persons engaged or concerned in such enterprises. * * * And I require all good and faithful citizens * * * to be aiding and assisting * * * in the discovery, apprehension and bringing to justice all such offenders, in preventing the execution of their unlawful designs and in giving information against them to proper authorities.”

This document created great excitement and alarm and aroused the people to energy. The eastern States offered assistance, and military companies whose organization dated back to the days of the Revolution, tendered their

services to the President. Copies of the Proclamation reached Pittsburg on the second of December, and were speedily distributed throughout the Ohio Valley, and the contents went far to arrest the schemes of Burr. Orders were sent by Jefferson to the Governors of Louisiana, Orleans and Mississippi Territories to be on their guard and ready to resist any attack which might be made. At the same time orders were dispatched to every intersecting point on the Ohio and Mississippi from Pittsburg to New Orleans for the employment of such force, either of the regulars or of the militia, and of such proceedings, also, of the civil authorities as might enable them to seize on all boats and stores provided for the enterprise, to suppress its further progress and to arrest all persons concerned therein. On the 8th day of November, General Wilkinson, at Natchitoches, was given orders to hasten accommodations with the Spanish commandant on the Sabine frontier, and then to fall back and guard the important points on the east side of the Mississippi. He dispatched Major Moses Porter of the artillery with the utmost expedition with orders to put New Orleans in a condition of defense, and there to repair, mount, and equip for service every piece of ordnance; to employ all hands in preparing shells, grape, canister, and musket cartridges with buckshot; to have every field-piece ready

with horse, harness and drag-rope, and to mount six or eight battering cannon on Fort Charles and Fort Henry—above and below the city—and along its front, flanks and rear. On the 25th of November the entire military force of the Territories of Mississippi and Orleans were ordered under arms. General Wilkinson, leaving Colonel Cushing to follow with the army, left Natchitoches and proceeded by way of Natchez, where he made application to the Governor of Mississippi Territory for five hundred men and then hastened on to New Orleans, where he arrived on the 24th, and at once had an interview with Governor Claiborne, the latter of whom immediately issued an animated address to the citizens, exhorting them to defend the city. To this there was a spirited and patriotic response. Money was subscribed, bounties offered sailors, guns of the city placed on merchant ships and a fleet suddenly improvised to oppose that of the British from the West Indies, which rumor said was to aid Burr in his invasion of Mexico. Cushing, with the regular troops arrived at New Orleans on the 10th of December, having left but a single company at Natchitoches. Cowles Meade, Secretary of Mississippi Territory, acting as Governor in the absence of Robert Williams, issued his proclamation for the arrest of “all the Burr conspirators.” Governor William H. Cabell, of Virginia, ordered Colonel

Hugh Phelps to call a battalion of Wood County (now West Virginia) troops into service. Graham hastened away from Marietta to Chillicothe, then the capital of Ohio, where he had an interview with Governor Edward Tiffin, and the legislature in session at that place immediately passed an act entitled "An Act to Prevent Certain Acts Hostile to the Peace and Tranquility of the United States, Within the Jurisdiction of the State of Ohio." Under this Governor Tiffin acted with promptitude and ordered Captain Timothy Buell to put the Washington County troops under arms, and at the same time directed those of Hamilton County to rendezvous at Cincinnati. Graham then proceeded to Frankfort, Kentucky, where he explained matters to Governor Greenup, who, under an act of the legislature on the 23rd day of December, ordered out the troops of that State, the greater number having instructions to rendezvous at the mouth of the Cumberland River. On the same day, Graham left Frankfort for Nashville, where Governor Sevier, then an aged hero of the Revolution and Indian wars, speedily put into activity the military forces of Tennessee. In the meantime, the authorities of Mexico had learned of the contemplated invasion, and her army was put in motion to check it on her eastern border. Thus it was that on Christmas day, 1806, men were under arms from Pittsburgh to the City of Mexico.

The first blow was struck by the Ohio troops at Marietta, when, on the night of the 10th of December, Captain Buell captured the entire fleet of boats in the mouth of the Muskingum together with all the supplies thereon. This materially crippled the enterprise, but the movement was not yet suppressed. On the 9th of December, Comfort Tyler, one of Burr's chief lieutenants, in command of four boats with forty men on board, from Beaver, Pennsylvania, arrived at Blennerhassett's Island. On the next night, information of the disaster at Marietta having been received, Blennerhassett, fearing arrest, bade his wife and children adieu, went on board, and under cover of darkness Tyler's boats began the descent of the Ohio. Early next morning, Colonel Phelps, with two companies of Virginia troops commanded respectively by Captains John and Alexander Henderson, arrived at the Island. When he learned that the distinguished occupant had fled, he, with a detachment of mounted men, dashed away across the country to the mouth of the Great Kanawha River, hoping there to intercept the boats; but they kept well to the west bank of the Ohio and in the night passed by unobserved. They had similar good fortune at Cincinnati, for they passed there on the evening of the 16th, but one day before the assembling of the Hamilton County troops at that place. Burr, who had gone to Ten-

nessee after his trial and acquittal in Kentucky, was at Nashville when he learned of Jefferson's Proclamation, and leaving there on the 24th of December with four boats and thirty men, descended the Cumberland River to its mouth, where he met Blennerhassett. There all the boats, eleven in number—four under Burr, four under Tyler, two under Davis Floyd, a member of the territorial legislature of Indiana, and one under Blennerhassett—were assembled. Burr, learning of the approach of the Kentucky troops, slipped his moorings, and began his voyage down the Ohio. On the 31st of December, the flotilla lay to at Fort Massac and Burr sent a barrel of apples ashore—a holiday present to the family of the commandant, Captain Bissel. The night of the 3rd of January, 1807, was spent at Fort Pickering on the Chickasaw Bluffs, where the city of Memphis now stands. Two days thereafter, Burr took on board "a supply of lead, powder, tomahawks, and other articles of western warfare." A short stop was made at Palmyra and then the boats floated on and were lashed to the shore at Bayou Pierre, in Claiborne County, Mississippi, where on the 15th they were joined by an additional one having on board sixteen young men from Pittsburg, with whom came Mrs. Blennerhassett and her two little sons, who here joined her husband. There Burr, for the first time.

learned of the course of General Wilkinson. The boats were dropped down to Petit Gulf, and then, says Safford :* "On a dark and dreary night, in the month of January, as the flotilla pushed slowly from the landing at Petit Gulf, might have been observed the master-spirit of the expedition seated on a rough stool, in the inclement cabin of a flatboat, lighted only by the cheerless rays of a solitary candle and the decaying embers of a rudely constructed fireplace. With his face buried in his hands, while his elbows rested on a table of unplanned boards, he who had heretofore braved the disappointments which had attended his undertaking with a fortitude that astonished while it gave confidence to his followers, now sat gloomy and dejected. Upon what he mused is beyond the ken of human prescience ; but, starting suddenly from his revery, he caught up an axe and directed his attendant to make an opening in the side of the boat. Through this, in the silence of night, when he supposed there was none to witness, the chests of arms for the expedition were silently sunk beneath the waters of the Mississippi."

On the 29th the boats were lashed to the western shore—that of the Louisiana Purchase—nearly opposite the mouth of Cole's Creek, thirty miles above Natchez, and there George Poindexter, Attorney-General of Missis-

*See William H. Safford's "Life of Harman Blennerhassett", p. 117.

issippi Territory, acting in compliance with the proclamation of its acting Governor, Cowles Meade, arrested Aaron Burr and took him to the town of Washington, the capital of the territory, where an examination at once began. But it was shown that the crimes with which he was charged were those of treason against the general government, and not a violation of the laws of Mississippi Territory. Again Burr was free. But learning that Governor Williams would cause him to be arrested a second time, he fled to the boats. Once more he and Blennerhassett were together. Either might have exclaimed with Campbell's "Exile of Erin":

"Sad is my fate, sighed the heart-broken stranger,
The wild deer and wolf to a covert can flee,
But I have no refuge from famine and danger,
A home and a country remain not to me."

Burr took leave of his few remaining followers, whom he advised to shift for themselves, and was rowed twenty miles in a skiff by John Dana, of Belpre, Ohio, landed on the left bank of the Mississippi, and mounted on horseback, he began a journey to the eastward. Governor Williams offered two thousand dollars for his apprehension. This was accomplished on the 18th of February and he was taken to Fort Stoddard on the Tombigbee River, and thence conveyed as a prisoner a thousand miles

to Richmond, Virginia, where he was confined in the penitentiary of that State. Blennerhassett attempted to return to his island home but was arrested in Kentucky and taken to Richmond, where he, too, was confined in Prison. Burr was acquitted after a trial lasting six months—one of the most remarkable in all the annals of American jurisprudence. Blennerhassett was never arraigned. Thus ended—before it was begun—the Great Southwest Monarchy, of which Burr was to have been at the head; Daniel Clark, its treasurer; General Wilkinson, its Secretary of War; and Blennerhassett, its Minister to Great Britain. If the Burr-Blennerhassett Conspiracy had occurred four years earlier—in 1802—when the Spanish authorities had closed the port of New Orleans against the deposit of western merchandise, the course of American history might have been changed.

THE BEGINNINGS OF LITERATURE IN THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

The faint beginnings of literature form a subject of much interest in every part of the world—and no less so in the Louisiana Purchase. The first author who resided there was Le Page du Pratz, who came to Louisiana in 1718, in the first ship sent out by the Company of the Indies. He spent a few months in the vicinity of New

Orleans, then removed to Natchez, where he resided until the year of the massacre, when he returned to New Orleans. His official position was that of Superintendent of the King's Plantations and he was the first agriculturist worthy of the name in the Mississippi Valley. He remained at New Orleans until 1734, when the office was discontinued, and he went home in the King's ship "*La Gironde*," having spent sixteen years on the banks of the Mississippi. On his arrival in Louisiana he acquired a knowledge of what had transpired there since 1700, and after his return to France he continued to obtain information therefrom until 1757, when his "*History of Louisiana*," in two volumes, was published in France. An English translation was printed in London in 1768. His work is the basis of that of all later writers for the period which it covers.

In 1753, the first literary production of the Louisiana Purchase was written in New Orleans by M. Villeneuve, an officer of the garrison of that place. It was a pamphlet containing a description of an aged Indian father—a Chickasaw—who suffered death that his son might be spared. It related that the Chickasaw's son had killed a warrior of another tribe. In retribution, the people of the murdered warrior demanded the young Chicksaw's life—but he could not be found, and in his stead, the

aged father, by his own request, was put to death, thus yielding up his own life for the life of his son.

The first newspaper published within the Louisiana Purchase was *La Moniteur*, issued at New Orleans in the year 1794, and printed in the French language. The first newspaper printed in the United States west of the Mississippi was the *Missouri Gazette*, published by Joseph Charless in 1808. It is still issued and is now called *The St. Louis Republic*. Charless was the public printer for the Territory of Louisiana, and the same year he printed the first book published in the Louisiana Purchase. It was a bound volume and contained the "American Laws in Force in Louisiana Territory."

MISCELLANY.

The Missouri Fur Company, composed of Manuel Lisa, Lieutenant William Clark and others, was organized in 1808. The first named had founded Bellevue in Nebraska three years before, and here in 1811 the company erected a small fort and made its headquarters.

In 1808, the territorial legislature passed an act providing for the incorporation of St. Louis. This was the first incorporated town in the Louisiana Purchase west of the Mississippi River.

Many Spanish officers still remained in the Louisiana Purchase, so many, indeed, that under date of August 7,

1805, Governor Claiborne wrote Madison, Secretary of State, from New Orleans, and said: "No doubt you will be surprised to find so many foreign officers in this city; the fact is, Sir, they are wedded to Louisiana and necessity alone will induce them to depart!"

In 1810, the total population in Upper Louisiana—then the Territory of Louisiana—was 20,845, of which all but about one thousand were within the present limits of the State of Missouri.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE EARTHQUAKE OF NEW MADRID IN 1811.

The earthquake is the most direful of all physical phenomena; no other disaster is so appalling in its effects, and no foresight can avert its calamity, for no warning is given to its hapless victims. It has occurred in all ages and in every portion of the earth men have been terrified by its awful effects.

The most violent earthquake that has ever shaken the American continent, since known to white men, occurred on the night of the 15th of December, 1811. It is known as the Earthquake of New Madrid, because the town of that name, in the county of New Madrid, in Missouri, appeared to be the center of seismic or greatest disturbance. On the afternoon of that day strange sounds were heard on the river and in the forests. The weather was observed to be oppressively hot; the air was misty and dull; the sun was visible like a glowing ball of copper, his rays scarcely shedding more than a mournful twilight over the scene of river and forest. Night came on, but with, as yet, only slight evidences of the mighty catas-

trophe which ere the darkness had passed away, was not only to convulse the Louisiana Purchase and the Mississippi Valley, but was to put in tremulous motion the northern shores of South America, to agitate the quivering waters of the Gulf of Mexico, to rock the Alleghenies and to die away in prolonged vibrations along the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. More than three millions of square miles were shaken, and the convulsion extended east and west, from Florida to Pike's Peak and the source of the Missouri.

Throughout a region lying between the mouth of the Ohio and that of the St. Francis, three hundred miles in extent, there were terrible heavings of the earth; the country was but thinly settled and the people lived in log houses, the most difficult, of all that can be erected, to overthrow; but nearly all of these were thrown down. If a city of brick and stone had flourished there at that time, it would have been reduced to a mass of ruins. Lakes of many miles in extent were formed in an hour, while others, previously existing, disappeared. Whole tracts of land plunged into the Mississippi and the graveyard of New Madrid with its sleeping tenants was hurled into the bed of that stream. In the forests, the trees waved together and were split in the midst and lashed one with another, covered vast extents of country, while

inclining in every direction and at every angle with the earth and the horizon. The ground arose and sunk; the undulations of the earth were like waves at sea, increasing in elevation as they advanced; when they had attained their greatest height, they would burst and vast columns of water and sand would be discharged as high as the tops of the trees; and the chasms thus made in the earth were visible many years thereafter. Whole districts were covered with sand and became uninhabitable. The boats were wrecked along the shores of the Mississippi, and thus many lives were lost in addition to those who perished on land.

A bursting of the earth just below the town arrested the mighty river in its course and caused a reflux in its waters by which, in a little time, a great number of boats that had escaped destruction thus far, were swept away by the ascending current and left upon the dry land. The thunder roared, while ever and anon vivid flashes of lightning, glaring through the troubled clouds of night, rendered the darkness doubly horrible. The sulphuretted gases that were discharged from the earth tainted the atmosphere with their effluvia, and so impregnated the waters of the river for one hundred and fifty miles as to render them unfit for use. The people attempted to run but were thrown to the earth with great violence. It

was a scene never to be forgotten by those who witnessed it in the deep forests and in the gloom of darkest night. The noise was such as terrified beasts and birds as well as man. The village of Little Prairie, some thirty-five miles below New Madrid, was a heap of ruins. A hundred families resided there. The whole region round about was covered to the depth of two or three feet with white sand, and but two families remained of the whole settlement. Water swept over the entire region; the cattle drowned and men and horses were swallowed "down deep in the pit." The people lived in houses no more that year, but passed the remaining months in bark huts and camps like those of the Indians, of so light a texture as not to expose them to danger in case of their being thrown down. The quakings continued at intervals for months, and the people remained in their miserable hovels trembling at the distant and melancholy rumbling of the approaching shocks. Evidences of the mighty convulsion still remain in the earth's surface after the lapse of nearly a hundred years.

The lands were ruined and the territorial legislature of Missouri memorialized Congress by a resolution which Edward Hempstead, the first member of Congress from the west side of the Mississippi, presented in the House of Representatives Saturday, February 12, 1814, and on

February 17, 1815, Congress passed a bill by which "all persons owning lands in the county of New Madrid, which have been materially injured by earthquakes," were granted a like quantity of public lands elsewhere in Missouri Territory.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE FIRST STATES FORMED FROM THE LOUISIANA
PURCHASE.

By an act of the second session of the Eighth Congress, passed March 2, 1805, the people of the Territory of Orleans were permitted to elect a General Assembly of twenty-five members, which should convene as a legislature in New Orleans on Monday the 4th of the ensuing November. It was further provided that whenever the Territory had sixty thousand inhabitants, they should be permitted to frame a constitution and be admitted into the Union.

In 1810 there were twenty parishes. These were Acadia, Ascension, Assumption, Catahoula, Concordia, Iberville, Lafourche, Natchitoches, Orleans, Ouachita, Plaquemines, Pointe Coupee, Rapides, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. James, St. John the Baptist, St. Landry, St. Martin and East Baton Rouge.

In that year, too, the census showed that the Territory had a population of 76,556; and according to the provisions of the act of six years before, a convention assembled at New Orleans on the 4th of November, 1811,

and framed a constitution for the proposed State. One of its provisions declared that "all printing presses shall be free, and every citizen may freely speak, write or print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty." Thus was a free press and free speech first secured in the Louisiana Purchase. The convention adjourned on the 12th of January, 1812, and on the 30th of April,—the ninth anniversary of the Louisiana Purchase—Louisiana, the first State formed within it, was admitted into the Federal Union. William C. C. Claiborne was chosen by the people as its chief executive. He had been the Governor of the Province of Louisiana as it was received from France, and then of the Territory of Orleans for eight years—the whole period of its existence. The Island of Orleans would have been the only part of the State east of the Mississippi had it not been that in 1810 the four parishes of West Florida, lying west of the Pearl River, north of Manchac Pass and east of the Mississippi—New Feliciana, East Baton Rouge, St. Helena, and St. Tammany—with a total area of four thousand eight hundred and fifty square miles, and ten thousand inhabitants rebelled against Spain; and having formed the "Republic of West Florida," applied for admission into the Federal Union. This was denied them and then Governor Claiborne permitted them to become

a part of the Territory of Orleans. Thus they became a part of the State as it was admitted into the Union and thus its population was increased to 86,556.

MISSOURI MADE A STATE.

On the 4th day of June, 1812, the Twelfth Congress passed an act by which it was declared that the Territory heretofore called the "Territory of Louisiana shall henceforth be known as the Territory of Missouri" and providing a territorial Government therefor. It provided for a Governor whose term was three years, a Secretary to serve for four years, and a Legislative Council, whose members were to serve for five years. Members of the territorial legislature, whose term was two years, were elected on the 5th of October, 1812, and the Government was organized on the 7th of December ensuing at St. Louis, which had been the capital of Upper Louisiana for forty-seven years, and of the Territory of Louisiana for seven years. Benjamin Howard, who had been the last Governor of the Territory of Louisiana, now became the first Governor of the Territory of Missouri, and issued a proclamation declaring the Territory to be divided into six districts. These, with their population, according to the census returns of 1810, were as follows:

Districts.	Population.
St. Charles	3,505
St. Louis	5,667
St. Genevieve	4,620
Cape Girardeau	3,888
New Madrid	2,100
Arkansas	874
Settlements of Hempstead and St. Francis	184
Total	20,847

At the time of the formation of Missouri Territory, its area included all of the Louisiana Purchase except that embraced in the State of Louisiana. It was bounded on the south by New Mexico and Louisiana; on the east by the Mississippi River; on the north by British America; and on the west by the Rocky Mountains. It was thirteen hundred miles in length, and nine hundred in breadth; and its area, as has been stated, embraced more than eight hundred thousand square miles. On Monday, March 6, 1821, Congress passed an enabling act, authorizing the people of Missouri Territory to prepare for statehood and admission into the Union. There were in the Territory at that time fifteen counties: Howard, Cooper, Montgomery, Pike, Lincoln, St. Charles, Franklin, St. Louis, Jefferson, Washington, Ste. Genevieve, Madison, Cape Girardeau, New Madrid and Wayne. From these delegates were elected to a convention which assembled in St. Louis on the 19th of June, 1820. David Barton was

chosen president and William G. Pettus, secretary of the convention. This body framed a constitution, one of the provisions declaring that "schools and the means of education shall ever be encouraged in this State." Missouri was admitted into the Union on the 10th of August, 1821, having at the time a population of 66,557. Alexander McNair was the first Governor of the State and William H. Ashley its first Lieutenant-Governor.

ARKANSAS A TERRITORY.

On the second day of March, 1819, the southern boundary of Missouri Territory was defined by act of Congress to be "a line beginning on the Mississippi River at latitude 36° north, and running thence west to the river St. Francis; thence up the same to latitude $36^{\circ} 30'$ north; thence west to the western territorial line." It was further provided that all of Missouri Territory "lying south of this line and north of the State of Louisiana shall be known as Arkansas Territory." In 1810, there were in this region but one thousand and sixty-two inhabitants; of these one hundred and eighty-eight were in the settlements of Hempstead and St. Francis, and eight hundred and seventy-four were residing along the banks of the Arkansas River. But in 1820, the popula-

tion had increased to 14,242; there were then seven counties: Arkansas, Clark, Hempstead, Lawrence, Miller, Philips, and Pulaski. Arkansas Post was the seat of Government and James Miller was the first territorial Governor. Such was the beginning of the third State that was to arise out of the Louisiana Purchase.

The story is told. We have seen the Louisiana Purchase when it was a land inhabited by wild beasts and savage men; when Castilian knights risked every danger, even death itself, in their vain search, in its hidden depths for gold, silver, gems, and opulent cities; and when the Gauls first launched their boats upon its majestic rivers, traversed its wide extended plains, and then founded civilized homes on the shores of the Mississippi. We have seen how Crozet flung away millions of francs in an effort to create a monopoly of the trade of its wilderness inhabitants; how John Law and his associates of the West Indies Company undertook to pay the national debt of France from the revenues to be derived from its mines and commerce; how, under royal government, its rulers essayed to break the barbarian power, and then to extend its settlements and improve conditions therein. We have seen, too, how France, by a single act of her sovereign at Ver-

sailles, gave the entire region to Spain and then feared that the magnificent gift might not be accepted; how that nation established and maintained sovereignty therein for thirty-four years, and then, by the terms of a treaty concluded at St. Ildefonso, the royal glass emporium of that kingdom, gave it back to France, together with the Duchy of Parma, in exchange for Tuscany, a province older than modern Europe; how Napoleon Bonaparte, as First Consul and head of the French Republic, reared upon the ruins of a Bourbon throne amid scenes the most terrible that ever convulsed the world, transferred not an island and a city, but a North American empire to the Young Republic of the West, and thus made it possible for it to become a mighty power among the nations of the earth. Then, too, we have seen how the first germs of representative Government were planted therein and have watched their growth until the year 1820, when two great States—Louisiana and Missouri—and one Territory—Arkansas—had been founded, and equal rights for all men, with just laws, securing civil and religious freedom, had been extended throughout the whole extent of the Louisiana Purchase, from which other States—Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Idaho, parts of Minnesota, Wyoming, Oklahoma, and all of Indian Territory—were yet to be formed.

Well, indeed, may it be said that the Purchase of Louisiana was an event of wondrous consequences in American history. It was an acquisition the most valuable ever added to the national domain, and it is therefore one of the events of chiefest glory in the annals of the nation. Had there been no Louisiana Purchase, there would have been no trans-Mississippi States of the Federal Union, no Northwest and Pacific Coast States under the American flag. To the public spirit, enterprise and progress of the people who inhabit that empire, transferred by France to the United States, much of their national grandeur and greatness is due. Not only this, but the Louisiana Purchase has proven, under the searching providence of God, a mighty world-wide blessing.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A.

THE CESSION OF THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

AN INSTRUMENT OF WRITING SIGNED AND EXCHANGED BY THE
COMMISSIONERS OF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS AND DESIGNED AS
A RECORD OF THIS IMPORTANT TRANSACTION—THAT
OF THE CESSION OF THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE
BY FRANCE TO THE UNITED STATES.

DECEMBER 20, 1803.

(See "American State Papers," Vol. V., p. 21.)

The undersigned, William C. C. Claiborne and James Wilkinson, commissioners or agents of the United States, agreeable to the full powers they have received from Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States, under date of the 31st of October, 1803, and twenty-eighth year of the Independence of the United States of America, (8 Brumier, 12 year of the French Republick) countersigned by the Secretary of State, James Madison, and citizen Peter Clement Laussat, colonial prefect and commissioner of the French government for the delivery in the name of the French Republick of the country, territories and dependencies of Louisiana, to the commissioners or agents of the United States, conformably to the powers, commission and special mandate which he has received in the name of the French people from citizen Bonaparte, first consul, under date of the 6th of June, 1803, (17 Prairial, 11 year of the French Republick) countersigned by the secretary of state, Hugues Maret, and by his

excellency the minister of marine and colonies, Decres, do certify by these presents, that on this day, Tuesday the 20th December, 1803 of the christian era, (28th Frimaire, 12 year of the French Republic) being convened in the hall of the Hotel de Ville of New Orleans, accompanied on both sides by the chiefs and officers of the army and navy, by the municipality and divers respectable citizens of their respective republics, the said William C. C. Claiborne and James Wilkinson delivered to the said citizen Laussat their aforesaid full powers, by which it evidently appears that full power and authority has been given them jointly and severally to take possession of and to occupy the territories ceded by France to the United States by the treaty concluded at Paris on the 30th of April last past, (10th Floreal) and for that purpose to repair to the said territory and there to execute and perform all such acts and things, touching the premises, as may be necessary for fulfilling their appointment conformable to the said treaty and the laws of the United States: and there-upon the said citizen Laussat declared that in virtue of and in the terms of the powers, commission and special mandate dated, at St. Cloud, 6th June, 1803 of the christian era (17th Prairial, 11 year of the French Republic) he put from that moment the said commissioners of the United States in possession of the country, territories and dependencies of Louisiana, conformably to the 1, 2, 4 and 5th articles of the treaty and the two conventions, concluded and signed the 30 April, 1803, (10 Floreal, 11th year of the French Republic) between the French Republic and the United States of America by citizen Francois Barbe Marbois, minister of the publick treasury, and the Messieurs Robert R. Livingston and James Monroe, ministers plenipotentiary of the United States, all three furnished with full powers, of which treaty and two conventions the ratifications, made by the first consul of the French Republic on the one part, and by the President of the United States by and with the advice and consent

of the Senate, on the other part, have been exchanged and mutually received at the city of Washington, the 21 October, 1803 (28 Vendemaire 12 year of the French Republic), by citizen Louis Andre Pichon, *charge des affaires* of the French Republic, near the United States, on the part of France, and by James Madison, Secretary of State of the United States, on the part of the United States, according to the *process verbal* drawn up on the same day; and the present delivery of the country is made to them, to the end that, in conformity with the object of the said treaty, the sovereignty and property of the colony or province of Louisiana may pass to the United States, under the same clauses and conditions as it had been ceded by Spain to France, in virtue of the treaty concluded at St. Ildefonso, on the 1 October, 1800 (9th Vendemaire, 9 year) between these two last powers, which has since received its execution by the actual re-entrance of the French Republic into possession of the said colony or province.

And the said citizen Laussat in consequence, at this present time, delivered to the said commissioners of the United States, in this public sitting, the keys of the city of New Orleans, declaring that he discharges from their oath of fidelity towards the French Republic, the citizens and inhabitants of Louisiana, who shall choose to remain under the dominion of the United States.

And that it may forever appear, the undersigned have signed the *process verbal* of this important and solemn act, in the French and English languages, and have sealed it with their seals, and have caused it to be countersigned by their secretaries of commission, the day, the month, and the year above written.

WM. C. C. CLAIBORNE, [L.S.]

JAMES WILKINSON, [L.S.]

LAUSSAT. [L.S.]

APPENDIX B.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM CLARK'S LETTER TO HIS BROTHER, GENERAL
GEORGE ROGERS CLARK, THE FIRST PUBLISHED ACCOUNT
OF THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION.

How anxious Captain William Clark was to inform his distinguished brother of the return of the expedition to St. Louis and of his own safety, is attested by the fact that he wrote him the same evening, notwithstanding he had not arrived there until noon of that day. There was at that time no newspaper published west of the Mississippi river, and Captain Clark's letter is, certainly, not only the first written, but the first published account of the expedition. That it should appear first in a Kentucky paper was to be expected. The observations of the editor precede the letter. It is printed here just as it then appeared.

[From the Frankfort (Kentucky) Palladium, Oct. 9, 1806.]

"We congratulate the public at large and the particular friends of Messrs. Lewis and Clark, and their enterprising companions, on the happy termination of an expedition, which, doubtless, will be productive of incalculable commercial advantages to the western country, at no very distant period—improve our geographical knowledge of those hitherto unexplored regions—and assist the government of the Union, in estimating the true value of those boundaries which we claim by the purchase of Louisiana. Whatever difference of opinion may exist on this point, we are persuaded all think and feel alike, on the courage, perseverance, and prudent deportment of the adventurous party. They are entitled to, and will receive the plaudits of their countrymen.

"By the mail of this morning we have received from an obliging friend, the following letter from Capt. Clark, to his brother, General Clark, near Louisville. Capt. Clark, did not, perhaps, intend it for publication; but to gratify, in some measure, the impatient wishes of his countrymen, the General was prevailed upon to permit its appearance in our paper of to-day."

"St. Louis, Mo., September 23rd, 1806.

"DEAR BROTHER—We arrived at this place at 12 o'clock to-day, from the Pacific Ocean, where we remained during last winter, near the entrance of Columbia river. This station we left on the 27th of March last, and should have reached St. Louis early in August, had we not been detained by the snow, which barred our passage across the Rocky mountains, until the 24th of June. In returning through those mountains we divided ourselves into several parties, digressing from the route by which we went out, in order the more effectually to explore the country, and discover the most practicable route which does exist across the continent by the way of the Missouri and Columbia rivers. In this we were completely successful, and have therefore no hesitation in declaring, that such as nature has permitted, we have discovered the best route which does exist across the continent of North America in that direction. Such is that by way of the Missouri to the foot of the rapids, below the great falls of that river. a distance of 2,575 miles, thence by land passing by the Rocky Mountains, to a navigable part of the Kooskooske 340 miles; and with the Kooskooske 73 miles. Lewis's river 154 miles, and the Columbia 413 miles to the Pacific Ocean, making the total distance from the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi, to the discharge of the Columbia into the Pacific Ocean 3,555 miles. The navigation of the Missouri may be deemed good—its difficulties arise from its falling banks, timber imbedded in the mud of its channel, its sandbars, and steady rapidity

of its current, all of which may be overcome with a great degree of certainty by using the necessary precaution. The passage by land of 340 miles from the falls of the Missouri to the Kooskooske, is the most formidable part of the tract proposed across the continent. Of this distance 200 is along a good road, and 140 over tremendous mountains, which for 60 miles are covered with eternal snows. A passage over these mountains is, however, practicable from the latter part of June to the last of September; and the cheap rate at which horses are to be obtained of the Indians of the Rocky mountains, and west of them, reduces the expenses of transportation over this portage to a mere trifle. The navigation of the Kooskooske, Lewis's river, and the Columbia, is safe and good, from the first of April to the middle of August, by making three portages on the latter river. The first of which in descending is 1,200 paces at the falls of Columbia, 261 miles up that river; the second of two miles at the long narrows, six miles below the falls; and a third, also of two miles at the great rapids 65 miles still lower down. The tide flows up the Columbia 183 miles, and within 7 miles of the great rapids.

"Large sloops may with safety ascend as high as tide water, and vessels of 300 tons burthen reach the entrance of the Multonah river, a large southern branch of the Columbia, which takes its rise on the confines of New Mexico, with Colorado and Apostle's rivers, discharging itself into the Columbia 125 miles from its entrance into the Pacific Ocean. I consider this tract across the continent of immense advantage to the fur trade, as all the furs collected in nine-tenths of the most valuable fur country in America, may be conveyed to the mouth of the Columbia, and shipped from thence to the East Indies, by the first of August in each year and will, of course, reach Canton earlier than the furs which are annually exported from Montreal arrive in Great Britain.

"In our outward bound voyage, we ascended to the foot of the rapids below the great falls of the Missouri, where we arrived on the 14th of June, 1805. Not having met with any of the nations of the Rocky Mountains, we were of course ignorant of the passes by land, which existed through those mountains to the Columbia river; and had we even known the route, we were destitute of horses, which would have been indispensably necessary to enable us to transport the requisite quantity of ammunition and other stores to insure the remaining part of our voyage down the Columbia; we, therefore, determined to navigate the Missouri, as far as it was practicable, unless we met with some of the natives, from whom we could obtain horses, and information of the country. Accordingly we undertook a most laborious portage at the falls of the Missouri, of 18 miles, which we effected with our canoes and baggage by the 3rd of July. From hence, ascending the Missouri, we penetrated the Rocky Mountains at the distance of 71 miles above the upper part of the portage, and penetrated as far as the three forks of that river, a distance of 180 miles further; here the Missouri divides into three nearly equal branches at the same point. The two largest branches are so nearly equal of the same dignity, that we did not conceive that either of them could with propriety retain the name of the Missouri; and therefore called these streams Jefferson, Madison and Gallatin rivers. The confluence of these rivers is 2,848 miles from the mouth of the Missouri by the meanders of that river. We arrived at the three forks of the Missouri on the 27th of July. Not having yet been so fortunate as to meet with the natives, although we had previously made several exertions for that purpose, we were compelled still to continue our route by water.

"The most northerly of the three forks, that to which we had given the name of Jefferson's river, was deemed the most proper for our purpose, and we accordingly ascended it 248 miles to the

upper forks, and its extreme navigable point; making the total distance to which we had navigated the waters of the Missouri 3,096 miles, of which 429 lay within the Rocky Mountains. On the morning of the 17th of August, 1805, I arrived at the forks of Jefferson's river, where I met Capt. Lewis, who had previously penetrated with a party of three men, to the waters of the Columbia, discovered a band of the Shoshone nation, and had found means to induce 35 of their chiefs and warriors to accompany him to that place. From these people we learned that the river in which they resided was not navigable, and that a passage through the mountains in that direction was impracticable; being unwilling to confide in this unfavorable account of the natives, it was concerted between Capt. Lewis and myself that one of us should go forward immediately with a small party, and explore the river; while the other in the interim would lay up the canoes at that place, and engage the natives with their horses to assist in transporting our stores and baggage to their camp. Accordingly I set out the next day, passed the dividing mountains between the waters of the Missouri and Columbia, and descended the river, which I since call the east fork of Lewis's river, about seventy miles. Finding that the Indians' account of the country in the direction of this river was correct, I returned and joined Capt. Lewis on the 29th of August at the Shoshone camp, excessively fatigued as you may suppose; having passed mountains almost inaccessible, and compelled to subsist on berries during the greater part of my route. We now purchased twenty-seven horses of these Indians, and hired a guide who assured us that he could in fifteen days take us to a large river in an open country west of the mountains, by a route some distance to the north of the river on which they lived; and that by which the natives west of the mountains, visit the plains of the Missouri, for the purpose of hunting the buffaloe. Every preparation being made, we set forward with our guide on the 31st of August,

through those tremendous mountains, in which we continued until the 22nd of September before we reached the lower country beyond them; on our way we met with the Olelachshoot, a band of the Tuchapaks, from whom we obtained an accession of seven horses and exchanged eight or ten others; this proved of infinite service to us, as we were compelled to subsist on horseflesh about eight days before we reached the Kooskooske. During our passage over those mountains, we suffered everything which hunger, cold and fatigue could impose, nor did our difficulties with respect to provision, cease on our arrival at the Kooskooske, for, although the Pallotepallors, a numerous nation inhabiting that country, were extremely hospitable, and for a few trifling articles furnished us with an abundance of roots and dried salmon the food to which they were accustomed; we found that we could not subsist on these articles, and almost all of us grew sick on eating them; we were obliged therefore to have recourse to the flesh of horses and dogs as food to supply the deficiency of our guns, which produced but little meat as game was scarce in the vicinity of our camp on the Kooskooske, where we were compelled to remain in order to construct our perogues to descend the river. At this season the salmon are meagre and form but indifferent food. While we remained here I was myself sick for several days, and my friend Capt. Lewis suffered a severe indisposition.

"Having completed four perogues and a small canoe, we gave our horses in charge to the Pallotepallors until we returned, and on the 7th of October we embarked for the Pacific Ocean. We descended by the route I have already mentioned. The water of the river being low, at this season, we experienced much difficulty in descending; we found it obstructed by a great number of difficult and dangerous rapids, in passing of which our perogues several times filled, and the men escaped narrowly with their lives. However, this difficulty does not exist at high water,

which happens within the period which I have mentioned. We found the natives extremely numerous and generally friendly; though we have, on several occasions, owed our lives and the fate of the expedition to our number, which consisted of 31 men. On the 17th of November we reached the Ocean, where various considerations induced us to spend the winter: we therefore searched for an eligible situation for that purpose, and selected a spot on the south side of a little river, called by the natives Netul, which discharges itself at a small bar, on the south side of the Columbia, and fourteen miles within point Adams. Here we constructed some log houses and defended them with a common stockade work. This place we called Fort Clatsop, after a nation of that name who were our nearest neighbors. In this country we found an abundance of elk, on which we subsisted principally during the last winter. We left Fort Clatsop on the 27th of March: on our homeward bound voyage, being much better acquainted with the country, we were enabled to take such precautions as in a great measure secured us from the want of provision at any time, and greatly lessened our fatigues, when compared with those to which we were compelled to submit in our outward bound journey. We have not lost a man since we left the Mandans, a circumstance which I assure you is a pleasing consideration to me. As I shall shortly be with you, and the post is now waiting, I deem it unnecessary here to attempt minutely to detail the occurrences of the last eighteen months.

"I am &c, your affectionate brother,

WM. CLARK."

APPENDIX C.

COMPENSATION TO LEWIS AND CLARK AND THEIR COMPANIONS ON
THE EXPEDITION TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

The following bill was reported in the Lower House of Congress by a committee appointed to ascertain "What compensation ought to be made to Messrs. Lewis and Clark and their brave companions for their services in exploring the western waters." When on its second reading, a motion was made to amend it by inserting after the words "William Clark," the names of William Eaton, Priestly Neville O'Bannon, and George Washington Mann; but this was lost. The bill was passed by the House February 28, 1807; by the Senate, on the 2nd of March, and approved by the President the following day.

"AN ACT MAKING COMPENSATION TO MESSRS. LEWIS AND
CLARK AND THEIR COMPANIONS."

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled: That the Secretary of War be and he is hereby directed to issue land warrants to Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, for one thousand six hundred acres each; to John Ordway and Nathaniel Prior, the heirs or legal representatives of Charles Floyd (deceased), Patrick Gass, William Bratton, John Collins, John Colter, Pier. Cruzatte, Joseph Field, Reuben Field, Robert Frazier, Silas Goodrich, George Gibson, Thomas P. Howard, Hugh Hall, Francis Labuiche, Hugh M'Neal, John Shields, George Shannon, John Potts, John Baptiste Le Page, John B. Thompson, William Werner, Richard Windsor, Peter Wiser, Alexander Williard, Joseph Whitehouse,

George Drulyard, Trousaint Charbono, Richard Worfengton, and John Newman, three hundred and twenty acres each; which several warrants may, at the option of the holder or possessor, be located with any register or registers of the land offices subsequent to the public sales in such office, on any of the public lands of the United States, lying on the west side of the Mississippi, then and there offered for sale, or may be received at the rate of two dollars per acre in payment of any such public lands.

SECTION 2. *And be it further enacted*, that double pay shall be allowed by the Secretary of War to each of the before named persons agreeably to the time he or they may have served in the late enterprise to the Pacific Ocean, and conducted by Messrs. Lewis and Clark, and that the sum of \$11,000.00 be and the same is hereby appropriated to discharge the same, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.—See “Annals of the Congress of the United States,” Ninth Congress, Second Session, p. 1278.

APPENDIX D.

A POEM COMMEMORATIVE OF THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION.

The following poem was written by one of America's most distinguished poets, in the autumn of 1806, just after the return of the expedition to St. Louis. It was published at the beginning of the ensuing year in the *Pittsburg Magazine*, and is printed here just as it appeared at that time. The poet afterward lost his life in the retreat of Napoleon from Moscow.

A NEW SONG.

THE DISCOVERIES OF CAPTAINS LEWIS AND CLARK.

BY JOEL BARLOW, ESQ.

Let the Nile cloak his head in the clouds and defy
The researches of science and time;
Let the Nigar escape the keen traveller's eye
By plunging or changing his clime.

Columbia! not so, shall thy boundless domain
Defraud thy brave sons of their right;
Streams, midlands and shorelands illude us in vain,
We shall drag their dark regions to light.

Look down, sainted sage, from thy synod of gods;
See, inspired by thy venturous son;
Mackenzie roll northward this earth draining floods,
And surge the broad waves to the pole.

With the same soaring genius, thy BROTHERS ascend,
And seizing the car of the Sun;
O'er thy sky propping hills, and high waters they bend,
And give the proud earth a new zone.

Potomac, Ohio, Missouri, had felt,
Half her globe in their cincture comprest;
His long curving course has completed the belt
And tamed the last tide of the west.

Then hear the loud voice of the nation proclaim,
And all ages resound the decree,
Let our occident stream bear the young hero's name
Who taught him the path to the sea.

These four brother floods, like a garland of flowers,
Shall entwine all our states in a band,
Conform and confederate their wide spreading powers,
And their wealth and their wisdom expand.

From Darien to Davies our garden shall bloom,
Where war's wearied banners are furl'd,
And the far scenting breezes that waft its perfume
Shall settle the storms of the world.

Then hear the loud voice of the nation proclaim,
And all ages resound the decree,
That our occident stream bear the young hero's name
Who taught him the path to the sea.

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